The Forum

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THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

For a people of peaceable disposition, almost entirely devoted to the varied pursuits of civil life, the citizens of the United States take very great pride and interest in their soldiers. This pride and this interest are not misplaced. Compared with the immense standing armies of Continental Europe, our army is insignificant in point of numbers; but man for man, in the possession of qualities that go to make the soldier,—physique, intelligence, and courage,—it can safely claim the highest place.

As the status of a community depends upon the enterprise and integrity of its individual citizens, so the army, as a whole, must reflect the character of the soldier. Viewed in this light, it is no wonder that the army has risen high in the public esteem and has won for itself new laurels. The time has passed when the private of the regular army might be truthfully made the butt of scornful jest, or when the fact that he was an enlisted man might be taken as *prima facie* evidence of his failure in life. On the contrary, the legal requirements which must be observed before a man can enlist, and the physical examination which he must pass, make it certain that his acceptance is a guarantee of many excellent qualifications. The courage and patriotic devotion of the regulars are most convincingly attested by the battles of El Caney, San Juan, Santiago, and Manila, and by the several engagements in Porto Rico: of their conduct while cooped up in transports, or when pressing forward on the fatiguing march, let the records speak. From the time that the Fifth Army Corps left Tampa,

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June 14, until it went to Montauk Point, August 24, the commanding general was not called upon to order the trial of a single officer or private by general court martial. This is a wonderfully clean record for an organization of more than twenty thousand men.

Within the past few years the *personnel* and the *morale* of the United States army have improved to a remarkable degree. Compared with the conditions which existed twenty-five years ago, the change is almost marvellous; and it is the purpose of this article to dwell briefly upon the reasons which led to new methods, and to glance at the improvement which these new methods produced. One need only go back to the eighties, for instance, to recall the laxity which attended enlistments. The recruit who easily entered through the front door made his exit from the army with equal smoothness; the result being that, for a time, the desertions outnumbered the enlistments and became a national disgrace. The necessity for reform was evident; and this reform very properly began with a closer scrutiny of the men who offered themselves for military service. As the years have gone by the gantlet which the applicants have been forced to run has been made more and more severe, until last year only about 3 men were accepted to every 10 rejected; or, to be exact, while 29,521 recruits were obtained, 98,277 applicants were rejected as lacking in legal, mental, moral, or physical requirements.

In the first place, it is worth while to emphasize the fact that the army of the United States is American in every sense of the word. It is a legal requirement that the accepted soldier shall be a citizen of the United States, or shall have declared his intention to become a citizen. So well is this fact known that, although nearly 130,000 men presented themselves to the recruiting officers last year, about 5,000 only were aliens; and these were, of course, promptly rejected. Of the 29,521 accepted applicants, 24,490 were native-born, and 5,031 of foreign birth. These figures afford pleasing evidence of the fact that the American youth does not regard the army with aversion. So long as this percentage of native blood is annually injected into the army, there will be no lack of enthusiastic and noble devotion to the country's flag, or of heroic defence of the national honor, whenever the latter is assailed.

The private soldier must be not only an American citizen, but also a good citizen. When this point was insisted upon, a great step in the direction of obtaining a better army was taken. The recruit must bring with him, when he seeks admission to the army, testimonials of good

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character signed by two persons; and it is a part of the military requirements that

"if satisfactory evidence of good character, habits, and condition cannot be furnished by the recruit or be otherwise obtained, the presumption should be against him and he should *not* be accepted."

In addition to being of good character, generally speaking, he must specifically be free from intemperate habits; and recruiting officers are directed to seek closely for evidences of intoxication or other forms of debauchery. The regulations in this regard are so strict that the recruiting officer would be perfectly justified in rejecting men upon whom the smell of liquor was perceptible. The intelligence of an applicant is also a factor in influencing his acceptance. Under the law he must speak, read, and write the English language. The day of the drunken and illiterate soldier has passed; and in his stead we are securing a most desirable class of citizens. It is pertinent, in this connection, to quote from "Tripler's Manual," the official guide for officers in their examination of recruits:—

"The examination of men for enlistment may, in general terms, be divided into the *physical*, the *intellectual*, and the *moral*. In the emergencies which our troops are called upon to meet, where celerity of movement and ability to endure privations and hardships are indispensable to success, the necessity for able-bodied men is obvious. Intellectually, although no educational standard is officially established, a soldier should be able to read and write, and should also be quick and clear in his understanding. The advance in the science and art of war and the improvement in modern fire-arms call for a higher degree of intelligence than was required of the soldier in the past. This is recognized by the Government by the establishment of schools and libraries, by providing reading-rooms that are liberally supplied with periodicals and newspapers, and by opening the way for promotion to all who will avail themselves of these opportunities for advancement. The care and attention that the soldier is required to give to his weapon and ammunition, the drill which their use entails, and the skill which may be attained by the practice of rifle-firing develop individuality, excite interest and ambition, and tend to make the profession attractive. It is, therefore, desirable that men should be selected who can appreciate this life and who have the mental capacity to profit by it.

The moral character should be scrutinized with care in order that enlistments from the vagrant and criminal classes may be avoided. The recruiting *rendezvous* is a favorite haunt for these men; and a study of their personal characteristics will well repay the recruiting officer for his labor. The vagrant seeks admission to the army, usually at the beginning of winter, for shelter, food, and clothing, without any intention of completing his enlistment or of performing any more service than he is compelled. The criminal seeks to bury his unsavory history under an assumed name, and, by service in distant stations, to escape the observation of those who know him. The evil influence of even one of this class cannot be overestimated; and no degree of physical perfection or soldierly bearing should induce a recruiting officer to accept his service."

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I have quoted at this length in order to impress upon the reader the care which is now exercised in selecting even the private soldier for the army of the United States; but I should still fail in my purpose if I did not indicate some of the questions which the applicant is compelled to answer before he passes into the hands of the examining surgeon:—

"Have you given your true name or an assumed one?

Do you understand clearly the nature of the oath of enlistment, and are you fully determined to serve the United States honestly and faithfully?

What is your object in enlisting? Do you clearly understand the nature of the 'Declaration of Recruit,' connected with enlistment?

Are you familiar with the Act of Congress 'to prevent desertions from the army and for other purposes?'

Do your parents or other relatives know of your intention to enlist?

Are there any reasons for your parents or other relatives objecting to your enlistment?

Give the names of two reputable persons, residents near the home of your parents, who are acquainted with them?

Have you given up any occupation on account of health or habits?

By what firm or individual have you been employed in the past six months?

Was your character good when you left that employment or service?

State residence of firm or individual, with post-office address."

There are numerous other questions, concerning the man's father and mother and his own personal physical condition, and whether he has been convicted of a felony or imprisoned in a jail or penitentiary. The inquiries relating to his bodily health are particularly rigorous. Nor have I yet mentioned the safeguards which the Government has erected in order to insure the highest type of manhood for its army. The recruiting officer is held to a rigid accountability for the enlistment of men who may be found unfitted for service; and if the enlistment has been carelessly made in violation of regulations, the expenses incurred may be deducted from the officer's pay. Above all, the army regulations expressly provide that recruiting officers shall not allow any man to be enticed into the service by false representations, but that they shall personally explain to every man, before he signs the enlistment paper, the nature of the service, the length of the term, and the amount of pay, clothing, rations, and other allowances to which the soldier is entitled by law. In short, it is the purpose of the Government to secure not the greatest number of men, but the best men,—the men who are sober, intelligent, sound in body and limb; who present, in fact, the highest type of American citizens. Of such is now the *personnel* of the army of the United States.

The barriers to the enlistment of unsuitable men are much greater

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than in any other country. Great Britain, for example, requires only applicants for the Household Cavalry to give certificates of good character; while the educational tests are restricted to those who desire to enter the Engineer Corps. In this country, moreover, the essentials as to height, weight, chest measurement, and age are also more exacting than in England. Notwithstanding the severity of the examinations, however, the War Department, as I have already shown, has been very successful in securing a sufficient number of men to fill the ranks to the limit at present allowed by law, viz., 60,000. If the army shall be increased to 100,000 men,—as we hope it may,—the Department will be compelled to seek 40,000 additional enlistments. It is a well-known fact in military experience that enlistments are always slower in times of peace than in war; the excitement of the latter period offering inducements to adventurous men. In addition to this, a period of commercial activity, which gives employment to thousands of men who had been living in enforced idleness, decreases the desire to find in the army a refuge from threatened poverty. Under these circumstances, it will, in my opinion, become the duty of Congress to enact legislation that will make more attractive and encouraging the future of the men who enter the army.

Whether it will be possible, or even advisable, to secure an increase of pay for the private, is a question that I am not now prepared to answer; but I cannot emphasize too strongly the justice and wisdom of dealing more generously with the non-commissioned officer. A step in the right direction was taken when Congress some years ago increased the pay of first sergeants to $25 a month; and now, more than ever, a broad policy is demanded. Thoroughly efficient non-commissioned officers are invaluable in regimental and company organizations; and to secure these we must offer substantial inducements in order that the men of superior intelligence and qualifications in the ranks shall strive for the higher positions. Everyone familiar with military organization is fully cognizant of the fact that the efficiency of the command is largely dependent upon these non-commissioned officers of the line, from sergeant-major to corporal: for they are in immediate contact with and in control of the men; and successful administration is certain if they possess character, capacity, integrity, energy, and soldierly qualities. If we can build up the army upon the solid foundation of capable non-commissioned officers, we shall have no reason to feel dubious as to the superstructure. A private is always a candidate for promotion to the non-commissioned grades; and his promotion rests entirely with him-

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self. If he conducts himself well, and possesses the necessary qualifications, his advancement is sure; while the knowledge that merit, not favor, will secure the coveted stripes upon the arm, will awaken the ambition of the intelligent and capable men in the ranks. Increased pay and honest, impartial promotions will induce desirable men to enter the army as a profession even in times of peace; while, in the event of war, the non-commissioned officers thus selected and trained in the regular army would prove admirable officers for volunteer companies. The importance of this subject, therefore, cannot be overestimated.

The pay of the private soldier begins with $13 a month. In his third year this is increased $1 a month; in his fourth, $2 a month; and in his fifth, $3 a month. If the soldier reënlists, he gets $2 a month additional. Non-commissioned officers receive the same increase. This pay is not so small as it seems, inasmuch as the soldier is provided with food, lodging, clothing, and medical attendance in addition. In time of war he has, of course, to suffer many unavoidable hardships. In garrison, however, he is well fed and has comfortable barracks. If he is ill, he receives medical attendance and medicines; and, no matter how long his illness lasts, he continues to draw full pay. A liberal amount of furlough is allowed him; and while on such furlough, he receives not only full pay, but 25 cents a day additional as commutation of rations. His clothing allowance is so liberal that, with care, not only can he be well clothed, but can receive, at his discharge, a sum of money equal to the difference between the money value of clothing allowed and of clothing drawn. This often amounts to more than $100. A few necessary expenses he must meet himself; but it is clear that much the larger portion of his pay represents what in civil life would be money saved after all necessary expenses had been met. The Government also permits and encourages soldiers to deposit money with paymasters, and allows 4 per cent interest on such deposits. There are many cases of these deposits reaching large sums. If he remain in the army, he can, after thirty years' service, be placed on the retired list, with three-quarters of the pay allowances to which he was entitled at the time of his retirement.

In this country, where events follow each other in rapid succession, the conditions of yesterday are not the conditions of to-day, and these latter are, in turn, superseded by the developments of to-morrow. Consequently, a discussion of the army of the future, which only a short while ago would have been without significance, is at this time fraught

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with tremendous interest. It is even probable that by the time this article appears Congress will have begun consideration of a measure looking to the permanent increase of the army. The Bill is already upon the calendar of the House of Representatives, with a favorable report from the Committee on Military Affairs, and is, upon the whole, a most desirable measure. Judging from the past, however, it may be expected that opposition will be manifested to any project looking to the increase of the standing army of the United States; but, laying aside my own point of view as a military officer, and viewing the situation as an American citizen concerned in the greatness and progress and welfare of his country, I cannot sympathize with the sentiment that would keep us on the basis of a quarter of a century ago.

We need a larger army. The term of enlistment of the volunteer forces will soon expire; and it is to be expected that the men who so self-sacrificingly gave up their business to uphold the national honor will desire to resume their civic vocations. At the same time, the conditions in our new territorial acquisitions will require the presence of an armed force; and this force must be the regular army. This proposition is too obvious to need discussion; and its self-evident truth will doubtless be promptly appreciated in Congress. The increase in the line of the army should be by the addition of the necessary number of regiments organized as are those now in the service. The number of officers should be increased by one first lieutenant to each troop, battery, and company. This would enable the War Department to meet the demands for various details required by law, and yet leave the troops with the necessary number of officers for their proper discipline and instruction. In war, also, it would allow the appointment of a sufficient number of generals and general staff officers, without destroying the efficiency of the army, as was threatened by the recent experience of the Department.

The army of the future should not be less than 70,000 enlisted men. This is only one man for every 1,000 of population,—a proportion ridiculously small. A city of 10,000 people, for instance, if it supplied its quota, would be represented by ten persons only,—an almost infinitesimal proportion. There can be no menace to the Republic in a standing army of proportions so meagre, when compared with the total population. It must also be remembered that at all times a very large proportion of the army will be serving out of the United States; so that the average number of soldiers within our own borders will be little, if any, larger than under the old *régime*.

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The experience of the war with Spain has also taught us the necessity of a larger standing army, because it is impossible for militiamen to become trained soldiers at a moment's notice. For the prompt response of the volunteers to the President's call for troops; for their patience while in camp and their courage on the field of battle; and for the readiness with which they absorbed the atmosphere of military life, I have nothing but the highest praise. At the same time, the experiences through which the War Department passed during the days when the volunteers were being mustered in have convinced me that in the future the National Guard must be conducted on a different basis, if it is to become adequate as a fighting force.

Nothing could be better in theory than the spontaneous and enthusiastic organization of the young men of the country into regiments, their self-chosen military service affording them pleasant recreation and wholesome discipline. At the breaking out of the war with Spain we fondly looked to the National Guard to meet the crisis; but, as a matter of fact, it was only in one or two States that the Guard was found to be in anything like a condition of readiness. A laxity of administration was only too apparent; equipments were missing; and regiments that ought to have been mustered in at a moment's notice were delayed through inexcusable causes. To avoid these conditions in the future, I would make more thorough the instruction which is afforded by officers of the regular army at the State militia encampments; and especially would I insist that the experiences of these volunteers at the camps approach as nearly as possible to those of the army in actual service in the field. An organization ordered to a State camp for military instruction, relying upon a caterer to furnish food, can never acquire the self-reliance which characterizes the regular soldier on active duty.

Of our officers it can be truthfully said that there are none better in any army in the world.

The experiences of the past year have demonstrated that we must be prepared in the future for unexpected emergencies. Thorough organization, a carefully selected and trained military force, are half the victory before the first shot is fired. The people of the United States can congratulate themselves that their army is now being placed upon a footing which will insure success in any undertaking. We have never yet lowered our flag to an enemy; and with more confidence than ever can we go forward to meet the events of an unknown future.

H. C. CORBIN.

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THE FUTURE RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

THE subject of the future relations likely to prevail between the United Kingdom and the United States is, of course, one of the highest importance, not only to those countries, but to the world. At the same time, it is one which lies in the realm of pure hypothesis. For the latter reason, I have explained to the Editor of THE FORUM that I cannot write at any length upon it. As I pointed out to him, the great difficulty is that the future policy of the United States is the unknown. For instance, assuming that a Protective system is to be introduced into the West Indian possessions of the United States, is it yet certain that an opposite or open-door policy is to follow in its Pacific colonies? British opinion with regard to the possibility of pursuing a common policy with the United States in behalf of their joint interests in China must be affected by the commercial policy pursued by the United States in the Philippines.

Then, again, supposing that this open-door difficulty is got over by the United States observing in the Philippines that policy of the open door which she desires for her interest to pursue in China, what serious chance is there that it will ever become the policy of the United States to push even her plain interests in China to the extent of joining us in a firm alliance? It is useless or misleading to employ pleasant and easy phrases to wrap up our facts. The fact is this: The open door is menaced in China by the policy of France and Russia. It was menaced by that of Germany; but Germany has drawn back, and appears willing to make common cause with ourselves up to a certain point. Would the United States, under any circumstances, go beyond the point which might involve a conceivable risk of war against France and Russia? These are questions which the Editor cannot answer; and my own inability to answer them must naturally prevent my writing at much length. All that I can do is to give certain aids to a solution of a problem which I cannot solve.

The problem is: Given the fact that the United States is about to become what a German would style a World-Power (a result of the re-

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cent war which I have prophesied from the first), what is likely to be her policy—our policy being known? In other words, the doubts, which must at present prevail with regard to the answer to be given to a question which it is easy to ask, depend upon uncertainty concerning the future colonial and foreign policy of the United States, rather than upon any uncertainty with regard to ours. Our policy will continue to be what it has been in the recent past.

Some may reply: "The policy of the United States will be founded upon the necessities of the United States; and you can judge of these." I have, it is true, seen some alarmist and rather foolish suggestions of the absolute need of the United States of an alliance with us for her own preservation, and some doubts expressed whether the United States, with her new colonial possessions, is strong enough, as it is put, to stand alone against all other Powers. I confess I have no patience with such suggestions. There is no Power in the world which is going to make an enemy of the United States, and which will thwart her own views in her own territory, even in the Pacific. What may happen, however, unless she pursues a firm policy, is that her trade interests in other parts of the world may suffer by the closing of the door now open. The United States and Great Britain have a common interest in resisting this closing of the door; and if they were to unite firmly in resisting it no Power would seriously oppose them. But for this good end to be attained, the policy must be clear, the attitude unhesitating. For the moment this would suffice; but in the long run there must be no doubt about the resolve to maintain the policy (to use Sir M. Beach's phrase) "even at the risk of war."

Where will the two empires touch, or, in other words, come into relation with one another,—come into conflict I cannot assume and do not believe. The United States will not, it is probable, interfere in Europe, except for reasons arising outside Europe, nor in Africa at all. The relations of the United States with Australia will be relations of trade. In the continent of the two Americas the *status quo* is likely to be preserved, perhaps with closer trade-relations and greater friendliness between the British-American possessions and the United States than have prevailed of late, at all events as regards Canada. There are some signs of a movement among a portion of the West Indian planters and traders toward annexation to the United States, and there are some signs on the part of some Americans of a desire to favor these advances. The overwhelming majority of the population of the British West Indies are Negroes and other colored men. They do not desire union with the

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United States; and it is to my mind certain that the British Government would never contemplate the cession of the islands against the will of the majority of their population. It is to be hoped, therefore, that this agitation will not be pressed; for it would certainly weaken the growing friendship of these countries.

The appearance of the United States as an Atlantic and a Pacific Power, with Cuba in the West Indies, and the Philippines toward China, will for a time rather detach American minds from Central and South America. As long as the Mexicans can preserve government as reasonably good as that which they have practised during the tenure of power by their present ruler, even the vast amount of American capital which is invested in that country will not cause the people of the United States to seek political dominance in Mexico. As regards Central America and some of the weaker states of South America, it is possible that the desire to set up United States leadership, which has been dormant or which has declined of late, may one day revive. There is no sign that the powerful republics, such as Argentina, will welcome United States supremacy; and I am inclined to think that the relations between those republics and the United States are likely for some time to come to be less close than was anticipated ten years ago. The enormous amount of British trade with Argentina and with Central and South America in general would make us nervous as to any possibility of the adoption in those countries of an unfriendly commercial policy directed against our goods. There is, however, little probability of this, given the fact that Argentina sends to our manufacturers and to our working-people an ever-increasing amount of excellent raw material and of still more admirable food, and that the interest of the South American republics lies clearly in fostering the close relations now existing between them and the United Kingdom.

It is in Asia that we are confronted with the problems with which we have here to deal.

We are all saying on both sides of the Atlantic—and, although we are all saying it, it happens to be true—that in China and in large parts of Asia outside China the Americans of the United States are deeply concerned, as we are, and that our interests are the same. It is not to the advantage of either of us that China should break up, but rather that its government should be improved and that we should be able, both of us, to trade freely throughout its vast extent. The United States, in the number of residents and the volume of trade that she possesses in China, stands next to us. She has a similar interest in the open door,

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which interest is continuously increasing; and there is no question whether she will support us against the partition of the Empire (unless the door is certainly to be opened in all the spheres into which the Empire is to be divided), while there is a doubt as to the extent to which she will go in giving us her support. Clearly, however, I must repeat—for it is the dominant factor in the situation—the United States will stand better for common action with ourselves on behalf of freedom of trade in China, if she abstains from applying a Protective system to her trade in her own dominions in the Pacific. Whatever commercial system is adopted in the Philippines by the United States, a large British trade will probably be done there. The United States, in spite of her Protective tariff, largely directed as it is against British goods, is still about the best customer of Great Britain. American capital and American invention will probably once more raise the quality and the value of Manila cigars, restore them to their pristine favor, and vastly increase the export. The cigars will have to be paid for in other trade; and, under the rule of the United States, trade in the Philippines must certainly increase.

But the unregenerate Briton will be more inclined to look to common action with the United States in China if he finds himself able to trade in the Philippines on the same terms on which American citizens trade there themselves, than if he is vexed and irritated by having to face a tariff policy carefully devised for the purpose of limiting his trade. British trade with the Philippines is great at present. Its statistics are available to all who have the Government blue books or "The Statesman's Year-Book" at hand; but it is evident that the imposition in the Philippines of a Protective system, although with good government it might not diminish the volume of British trade, would change its character, would pinch some people's fingers, and would cause an outcry against the consistency or sincerity of a Power which, closing the door itself, as we should be told, was going to China with us on behalf of the open door.

Happily, it is still possible to look forward to the adoption toward China, and in China toward France and Russia, of a common policy agreed on between our two countries, with the addition of Germany and Japan. Such common action began to be possible in the summer of this year; it was suggested in the House of Commons; and has since met the approval, at the same moment in November, of Mr. Chamberlain in his speech at Manchester, and of Lord Charles Beresford upon the spot in the Chinese treaty ports. If such a common understanding

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of the four Powers and such common action could be brought about,—and there is nothing to prevent it, if the United States is in earnest upon the question,—it is certain that for some years to come Russia would not run her head against the combination, even if there be some doubt whether the American member of the group of four would carry her support of the combined view, if interfered with, to the point of war. France, without Russia, is powerless in China; and French policy in China must follow Russian lead.

It will be seen that throughout this article I have treated it as a settled matter that America will annex, or virtually annex, the Philippines. At the beginning of the war, like most observers, I had foreseen its ultimate result, but had hoped, for the sake of the United States, that a protectorate rather than annexation would be resorted to in the Pacific islands, in order to avoid many difficulties. The Americans of the United States are now discussing the possibility of governing colonies either by autocratic rule or by constitutional amendment and a restricted suffrage. Both plans are at variance with American habits of thought. The French apply manhood suffrage to their colonies, and allow the Negroes of Martinique and Guadeloupe not only to elect their local councils (with large powers and with hardly any official members), but to vote for senators and members of the legislative body at the capital. If it is not thought possible to apply the French system to the Philippines (and we do not apply it to India or the West Indies or generally to our Crown Colonies), then, as between restricted suffrage and what may be termed autocratic rule, I unhesitatingly prefer the latter.

Restricted suffrage means the supremacy of the planter and the trader from across the seas: it means the supremacy of a class interest rather than regard to all the inhabitants of the colony. The rule of a trained Civil Service or of the naval officers of the United States would be better fitted to insure the happiness of the majority. I know it will be difficult under annexation to set up such a government, which was one main reason for advising a protectorate. If you have local elections in the Philippines, you will probably have to rule in accordance with local wishes. If you have local elections upon a limited franchise, those local wishes will be the wishes of a minority. In the long run certainly, if not at once, the local minority would, however, be not unlikely to demand Free Trade; and, as this would increase the tendency to joint action between our countries, there might be an advantage here to be set against the heavy drawbacks which I anticipate from local rule at the bidding of a limited electorate.

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In an article in the December "Fortnightly Review," on "American Expansion," Mr. Laird Clowes discusses this question of the future government of the new colonies of the United States. He assumes that it would be deemed unwise "for many years to come, to make full citizens of all the ex-slaves and illiterate half-breeds of Cuba and of all the fanatical aborigines of the Philippines." I might take exception to the term "fanatical," as applied to the aborigines of the Philippines, inasmuch as I understand that they are giving a fair measure of support to the so-called rebel or local Government which is, as we are told, fiercely anti-priestly. But the main argument of Mr. Laird Clowes will no doubt carry weight; and his view probably represents the general feeling in the United States. He goes on to ask that the people of these various islands shall be at least temporarily ruled with strict and unflinching justice and honesty; and he appears to assume that our own experience shows that this can be better attained under an autocratic system of rule from afar than under any form of locally controlled administration. He suggests that the United States should ask us to train some of their civil servants of the future for them. Without offering any objection to this suggestion, which, on the contrary, I should for many reasons be glad to see accepted, I must admit that I see no absolute necessity for such a step, inasmuch as there could be no better temporary rulers found than American naval officers. The naval officers of France have been much employed in the rule of colonies,—on the whole with ill-success. But I believe that the naval officers of the modern type to be found in the fleets of the United Kingdom and the United States would make excellent rulers for the Spanish islands—under the general control, of course, of a prudent and trained statesman. This, however, is a digression, except in so far that the character of the Government to be set up in the Pacific possessions of the United States affects the question of the tariff under which trade is to be done there, and, indirectly, therefore, the policy of the open door.

Is the suggestion that the door to international trade should be open in the Philippines, in effect, a request to the United States to do something contrary to her interest to please us? Apart from any general discussion of the advantages or drawbacks of Free Trade, all who have studied the Colonial question as it has developed in three French colonies know that the Tunis Protectorate and the colony of Cochin China have contributed varying experiences to show that the open door is at least necessary to the start of a new tropical, sub-tropical, or planting colony, which, in American hands, the Philippines will virtually be.

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In looking forward, it is necessary that we should take steps to put an end to possible causes of conflict or of difference between our countries. We shall have to make up our minds that we will continue to rule Ireland on the improved methods of the last few years, rather than on those of an earlier period. We must take steps to bring to an end our claim to regulate, in conjunction with the French, the future of the canal between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty will have to be revised; and we must admit the predominant position of the United States in reference to the Central American canal, with stipulations for freedom of trade and for use in time of war on the principle which has been tacitly applied to the Suez Canal, and as to which there need be no difficulties. It is, of course, possible that negotiations may be on foot with this object; but it is clearly wise, in any case, that they should be undertaken before there arises a time of stress. In 1849 Nicaragua had granted to the United States an exclusive right of way across her territory for the purpose of joining the two oceans by a canal; and the proposed passage was to be covered by forts and military works. Mr. Clayton, on behalf of the United States, opposed as he was to that treaty, declared that the United States had no views of exclusive advantage in the matter; and the treaty, suggested by Mr. Clayton, and accepted by Great Britain in 1850, provided that exclusive control over the future canal should not be exercised by either Power.

Treaties to the same effect, such as the treaty with Honduras in 1856, were afterward concluded with the Central American Powers; and the general principle was laid down that we must insure equal treatment on the public highways, and prevent the imposition of unequal dues. France concluded like treaties with the same Powers. Early in 1880 the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate of the United States proposed the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which they called "singular and ill-omened." A good deal of discussion took place between the Governments, but no arrangement was arrived at; and it would seem that the time has come when we might frankly accept the declarations which the United States would be willing to make with regard to the canal. As long ago as 1860, a blue book, laid before Parliament, showed that the British Government was willing to modify the stipulations of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. In the discussions of 1881 Mr. Blaine disclaimed, on behalf of the United States, exclusive privilege in the passage, and asserted his desire to secure its free and unrestricted benefit, both in peace and in war, to the commerce of the whole world. That being so, there is not, and never has been, any real principle at stake.

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The issue which lies behind this interesting, but perplexing, study of the future relations of our countries is no less than the decision whether in the second half of the next century the dominant interest in the world is to be Anglo-American or Russian. When I say Anglo-American, I in no way forget the position in the southern hemisphere of our own great colonies; but I include them under the first half of my compound name. Germans may be inclined to take offence at the above hint of prophecy. It is certain that for a long time to come the Prussian army must be an enormous factor in the Continental politics of the Old World. On the other hand, considered as a World-Power, Germany can hardly rank, even in the time of our remote descendants, on a level with the Russian Empire or with the Anglo-Saxon combination, should the latter come into existence and survive.

The matter which I have discussed in this article is no new one for me. Writing on Europe in 1886–87, I said, referring to what I had written in 1866–67:—

> "In 'Greater Britain' the doctrine which I attempted to lay down was that . . . the English-speaking . . . lands should attract a larger share of the attention of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom; that in all these, whether subject or not subject to the British rule, the English race was essentially the same in its most marked characteristics; that in the principal English-speaking country not subject to the Queen—the United States—England had imposed her tongue and laws upon the off-shoots of Germany, Scandinavia, Spain, and, I might now add, Russia; and that the dominance of our language throughout this powerful and enormous country . . . must produce in the future political phenomena to which our attention ought more persistently to be called."

The prophecy has come true. It is for the Americans of the United States to decide how far toward firm alliance what I called "the tie of blood and tongue and history and letters" shall be carried.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

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COLONEL WARING ON THE SANITATION OF HAVANA.

On October 8, 1898, Col. Geo. E. Waring, Jr., sailed for Havana, charged by our Government with an investigation of existing sanitary conditions, and the formulation of a project for their betterment. He arrived on the 13th, and immediately began work. He collected the necessary preliminary data, sailed for New York on the 21st, and arrived on the 25th, ill with what appeared to be an attack of malarial fever. On the 27th his malady was pronounced yellow fever; and on the 29th he died. An examination of his papers showed that he had written the portion of his report which described existing conditions, and that he had sketched roughly the most important of his recommendations. His remaining notes consisted of numerous detached memoranda, references, extracts, and calculations. These were edited, and the report was completed and presented to the Secretary of War, by the present writer, Col. Waring's secretary and assistant. That report has never been published; and it is for the purpose of giving its substance —the importance of which cannot be overestimated—general circulation, that this article has been written. My very close association with Col. Waring for many years afforded me an opportunity to become intimately acquainted with his views on the subject herein discussed; so that I feel perfectly safe in saying that, had he lived, he would have permitted this paper to appear over his own signature.

Since the seventeenth century, the unsanitary condition of Cuba has been a menace to every neighboring people. If not the birthplace, this island is at least the nursery of a pestilence more deadly than any other disease of circumscribed geographical range. Unceasingly for two hundred years it has scattered misery and death broadcast. Both the eastern and the western hemispheres have paid tribute—heavy mortal tribute —to its malign influence. Spain was the first of the European nations to suffer. Yellow fever obtained a foothold in that country—in Cadiz—in 1705. For a century it spread, until, in 1804, its total death-roll numbered 124,000 victims. From 1800 to 1852 it appeared in epidemic form in ninety-six Spanish towns and villages, including

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Gibraltar, where it caused 5,946 deaths in a single year. Italy has been terribly scourged by the same disease; and all the other nations of Europe have suffered, more or less, through their shipping, though spared from epidemic visitation. On the western continent, South and Central America, Mexico, and the United States have been swept again and again by the fever's fatal breath. Our own country occupies a post of especial danger and responsibility, by reason of its geographical position and of its many ports which have direct and frequent communication with the centre of infection.

Yellow fever first appeared in the United States in 1668; confining its ravages, until 1810, almost exclusively to the principal ports between and including Boston and Charleston. In this period the mortality was about 20,000. New York passed through nineteen epidemics, but Charleston suffered from forty-four. After 1810 the improvement of hygienic conditions drove it gradually from the Northern cities; but, with the increase of commerce, the Southern became infected. There, in ten years (1851–60), nearly 30,000 lives were sacrificed to this preventable disease.[1] Records show that, up to 1877, "yellow fever has visited 228 cities and towns and 28 States of the Union, appearing 741 times and causing 65,311 deaths." Doubtless very many deaths were unrecorded. In 1878–9 the last great epidemic attacked the country, destroying 13,911 lives in the Mississippi Valley alone.

Of these awful visitations it is estimated that fully 90 per cent can be traced, directly or indirectly, to Cuba. A commission of medical experts, appointed by Congress to investigate, among other things, the endemicity of yellow fever, reported that

> "yellow fever is not domiciled in the United States; and every epidemic that has occurred has been in chronological sequence to the countries south of us, with which we are in communication."

Gradually the disease has been pushed back, by the cleaning of our ports and by our quarantine system, until its annual levy is comparatively small. It is, however, still a menace. Constant and costly vigilance is yet necessary. For half the year the people of our Southern States live in terror, lest, as happened last year, the fever should elude the quarantine service and once more gain a foothold in the midst of them.

At best, quarantine is a deterrent, not a preventive. After four years' experience as President of the State Board of Health of Louisiana, during which he devised and developed a system of marine detention and

[1] In August, 1853, the deaths in New Orleans averaged 201 per day.

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disinfection superior to anything of the kind the world had ever seen, Dr. Joseph Holt wrote:—

> "Quarantine as we may! Declare non-intercourse with the world! Build around ourselves a wall without gates, if we will! . . . we live in jeopardy."

To protect our country, ourselves, and our posterity effectually from the blight of this deadly upas-tree, whose boughs overhang our shores, we must strike at its root. Its root is in Cuban soil.

The controlling factor in the problem of the sanitary regeneration of Cuba is Havana—(1) because that city is the worst seat of infection; (2) because it is a centre of distribution; and (3) by reason of its importance and influence.

Yellow fever is peculiarly a disease of cities, especially of seaports, —very especially of filthy seaports. It is held by Dr. Sternberg, Dr. Pacetti, and other authorities that, as a rule, the inhabitants of tropical countries are exempt from the disease so long as they keep away from the infected cities. If they visit the point of danger, they, like residents of other countries, are liable to attack. The experience of Dr. John Guiteras, the Government yellow fever expert, confirms this. He reports that in the summer of 1897 the interior of Cuba was healthful and practically free from yellow fever; while the coast towns, especially Havana, were hotbeds of this disease.

Of the centres of distribution Havana is the chief. About $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of the exports and imports of the Island pass over its wharves. Business houses, representing practically all the commercial nations of the earth, are located here. Three thousand vessels enter the port and clear in a year. More than 80 per cent of the railroads and 62 per cent of the paved highways of the Island focus in this city. It is the principal manufacturing centre, and the capital of the richest agricultural territory. As an influential factor in our future Cuban policy, its position is unquestioned. Although its population is less than 12 per cent of the total population of the Island, Havana educates more than 38 per cent of the children attending school, and turns out more than 60 per cent of the graduates from the local colleges. With Havana cured, the rest of Cuba would soon be well.

The death-rate of the city has always been high. In five years (not consecutive) between 1800 and 1819, with a population less than one-third of the present number of inhabitants, 26,576 people perished from yellow fever alone. In 1832 the cholera killed 10,000. The official reports of the Spanish garrison show that up to January 16, 1896, more

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than 82 per cent of the total losses were due to yellow fever. In 1897 the total mortality by disease in the Spanish army in Cuba was 32,534.

At present the death-rate in Havana is enormous. The mortality for the week ending October 6, 1898, was 536—an annual rate of 139.36 per thousand. Since then, owing to the change of season and to the removal of certain contributing causes, it has fallen to 114.4.

The diseases which cause this wholesale devastation, ranked according to the number of their victims, are enteritis and dysentery, malarial fever, yellow fever, and typhoid fever. At first glance, the sequence is surprising; but it may be accounted for very easily. One attack of yellow fever confers immunity. Practically all the native Cubans are immune; having had the disease in infancy, when the attack is lighter, and the vital powers seem better able to withstand it. Acclimation is a potent, but not sure, protection against this disease and malaria; also, to a less degree, against typhoid. Against dysentery, which heads the list of destroyers, there is no protection, save in the observance of hygienic rules. One attack predisposes to another.

If Havana, in its present condition, were suddenly peopled with men from our Northern and Western States, the results would probably be as follows:—The general death-rate would be very much higher than at present; the proportion of deaths from dysentery would decrease somewhat, because of our cleanliness and better dietetic habits; the proportion of deaths from typhoid fever would increase considerably; while malaria and yellow fever would claim scores of victims for every one they gain now.

This is not the fanciful prediction of an alarmist. It is an estimate based upon well-established facts. In the epidemic at Memphis in 1878 unacclimated medical assistants were found almost useless; for they were almost sure to sicken and become additional burdens to their acclimated colleagues. Of fifty-five unacclimated physicians who responded to the call for help, fifty-four were attacked, and thirty-three died. Only two of the resident clergy escaped. Of the six thousand white people who remained in the city, all but two hundred—and these were mostly immunes—were attacked, and 70 per cent died. Indeed, Dr. Guiteras has said that practically all foreigners are seized by the malady sooner or later, usually within the first year of residence. The white-skinned Anglo-Saxon is much more susceptible than the darker Latin; and all colors intermediary between the latter and the Negro are more and more exempt as they approach the African, who has the least to fear.

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Yellow fever, cholera, typhoid fever, and dysentery are "filth diseases." The specific seed of each develops only under certain conditions; and one condition essential to all is a pabulum of dead organic matter. Filthy towns are the first attacked; filthy quarters, the most infested; and filthy people, the surest victims. The records of epidemiology prove this clearly; and occasionally their teaching is written in letters so bold as to startle us. One foul spot in York, England, called "The Hagworm's Nest," proved to be the incubator of the black death, the great plague, the sweating sickness, and the cholera; and certain localities in Malta suffered the maximum mortality in epidemics of plague, cholera, smallpox, and anthrax. Filth is an explosive, which needs but the spark of a disease germ to develop its malignance and scatter death and desolation. The safe course to pursue is not to trust to the exclusion of the igniting spark, but to get rid of all high combustibles. In any community where water, soil, and air are unpolluted by decaying wastes, filth diseases cannot survive. Such cleanliness can be attained,—not always easily, but always surely.

The present physical condition of Havana, as revealed by the recent investigation for the Government by the late Col. Waring, affords ample explanation of the high mortality which is more than decimating her population, and grave warning of consequences far more terrible than any yet endured, should an unacclimated industrial or military population precede the sanitarian to her shores. Briefly paraphrased from Col. Waring's report, the worst of the existing conditions are as follows:—

The surroundings and customs of domestic life are disgusting almost beyond belief. Sixteen thousand houses, out of a total of less than twenty thousand, are but one story high, and at least 90 per cent of the population live in these—averaging say eleven to each house. Usually the house covers the entire lot, so that there is no yard; though one or two courts are commonly included in the building. According to the general—almost the universal—plan, the front rooms are used as parlors or reception-rooms. Beyond them is a court, on which open the dining-rooms and sleeping-rooms. Beyond these, on another court, are—I might say *is*—the "kitchen, stable, and privy, practically all in one." In Col. Waring's own words:

> "The characteristic feature of the whole establishment—perhaps the only feature which is conspicuous in every house without exception—is the privy-vault, and, sometimes, a second vault for kitchen waste. These occupy a space practically under and almost in the kitchen. It is very rarely, indeed, that a Cuban privy has a ventilating-pipe, so that it belches forth its nauseous odors throughout the house and pervades the streets."

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Such houses rent for from $30 to $80 per month. Quoting Dr. Chaillé, in his report to the National Board of Health for 1880, Col. Waring continues:—

"Nothing more stinking, nasty, and unwholesome than the privy system of Havana and of Cuba can be conceived. It would not be possible to make it worse. In juxtaposition with the privy is another excavation, or sink, to receive the filth and refuse water of the kitchen, laundry, and household generally; for police regulations prohibit the discharge of such refuse fluids into the streets, except during rains. They notably aid the contents of the privy in saturating the soil beneath the houses."

In spite of the police regulations, the household slops—solid as well as liquid—are often, at night, dumped into the driveway at the front of the house, if this happens to be nearer than the *escusado* in the kitchen.

There is no ordinance—at least none in force—requiring a householder to empty his privy-vault. He uses it until it threatens to overflow; then he hires a night scavenger, who comes with a cart, carrying the requisite number of barrels. These are filled through square holes at the top, and discharged through a plugged orifice at the bottom.

"The workmen use tub-like ladles with long handles, with which they scoop up the filth. These they carry, *dripping as they go*, through kitchen, dining-room, reception-room, and hall, to the street."

When the barrels are filled, the cart starts, ostensibly, for the prescribed place of disposal; but often, in a dark street, the plugs come out, and, before the wagon has gone very far, the barrels are empty. This is an unfortunate occurrence; but it saves a great deal of time and, incidentally, the fee charged by the owner of the disposal system. The street cleaners overlook the accident; "and, in time, sun and air and buzzards restore the street to its normal state of filth."

The street cleaning is but half-organized and wholly ineffective. Some sweeping is done, in the dark; and there is a gathering up of garbage, which is universally thrown into the streets. What *is* done is not paid for. The contractor is not required to remove mud or dead animals. The latter lie where they fall, under a fierce sun which fosters rapid putrefaction, until the buzzards eat them. Some of the streets in the closely built portion of the city are paved with stone blocks: but the remainder are unpaved; and the only cleaning they receive is the gathering up of garbage thrown into them. In parts of the city great mud-holes abound, covered with green slime, and choked with filth of all kinds. These the contractor is not required to clean.

"There is no systematic disposal of garbage and sweepings. Most of it is de-

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posited on the surface in and near the town, where the buzzards make away with parts of it."

Havana has no sewerage system. Some few leaky drains, of defective grade, close to the surface, serve to receive the overflow from some privy-vaults. They allow the liquid filth to leak into the soil; but the householder saves what he would otherwise have to pay the night scavengers.

A saturated soil is always a source of possible danger; but when the saturating liquid is a solution of excremental filth, soaking in continually from house and street alike, disastrous injury to public and private health is inevitable. Verily Havana is a city set on a hill—but a dunghill.

The markets are foul and unfit for use as centres of food distribution. One of them should be destroyed and rebuilt. The two others "need only good administration and adequate cleansing to make them satisfactory."

The blood and offal from the slaughter-houses are flushed into a small creek, which carries them as far as the edge of the harbor and there deposits them. Both creek and harbor are "reeking with putrid filth."

"Lest the conditions above set forth should fail to do their appointed work of destruction, stimulus for their effectiveness is furnished by an extraneous source of malaria of the very worst character.

The southerly edge of the harbor is bordered by broad marshes, through which flow a number of watercourses, and to which these bring the offscouring of a very poor quarter of the town, and epecially the effluent of the slaughtering-pens and of other foul establishments; while a large portion of the flat is used as a dumping-ground for garbage.

This intimate relation of marsh and filth is greatly aggravated by the admixture of fresh and salt water, by occasional floods and by a daily scorching sun.

The vicinity of such marshes would be deadly (in this climate), even to a veritable 'City of Hygeia.' Their proximity to this foul, fever-cursed town has always been recognized as disastrous, even by intelligent Habaneros themselves."

The water-supply of Havana is very pure and abundant,—more than two hundred gallons per head per day:—

"This and the winds of the Gulf save the city from being absolutely and unqualifiedly bad; but they are powerless to make it tolerable. It is a veritable plague spot.

Its own people, largely immune though they are to yellow fever, which has prevailed here without interruption for one hundred and sixty-eight years, fall constant victims under the pernicious malarial and depressing influences to which they are always subjected; and it needs only the immigration of fresh material, which the enterprise of our population is sure to bring here, to create a sacrifice such as we

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have not yet known; while commerce will carry the terror and the terrible scourge of yellow fever to our shores, until we rise again in a war of humanity, and at all costs wipe out an enemy with which no military valor can cope."

Can Havana be purified? And if so, will such purification result in the eradication of yellow fever and malaria? Both questions can be answered affirmatively and positively. Havana is no dirtier than many another city has been. In England, in the olden time, the earthen floors were strewn with rushes. When these became sodden with filth beyond all endurance, fresh rushes were thrown over the old ones; and these, in turn, were buried, until the foul accumulation was several feet deep. Excrement was allowed to remain in and around the houses indefinitely, or was thrown into the street, regardless of consequences. In London, the frequent cry of "Ware below!" indicated that the household slops were about to be poured from an upper window. These conditions remained until repeated visits of the great sanitary teachers—the plague, the black death, the cholera, and other pestilences, which devastated cities and swept whole villages out of existence—had taught their hard lesson. On the Continent the ignorance and neglect were, if possible, even greater. We have profited by the bitter experience of our ancestors; and no intelligent person questions the merit of sanitary works. But their true value is not yet fully appreciated, even by educated men whose interests are at stake.

Both yellow fever and malaria yield readily to intelligent and vigorous sanitary measures. The former, indeed, possesses certain peculiar characteristics which make it one of the easiest diseases to combat. It is, in a certain sense, non-contagious. This does not mean that one case will not, under favorable conditions, breed others; but that the emanations from the sick, if transferred directly to healthy tissue, will not reproduce the specific morbid conditions characteristic of the disease. The germ does not complete its cycle of reproduction within the human body, though it retains its vitality. Apparently, its virulent properties are developed only after a period of incubation in some external soil, where environment is favorable to its development.

A nurse can sleep with his patient with impunity; but the exposure of a lock of hair from a yellow fever subject, after an interval of several weeks during which it had lain undisturbed in an envelope, killed all who inhaled the air which had been confined with it. Unless mechanically transported by the moving of infected articles, the poison travels slowly and with apparent difficulty. When it appeared in Rector Street, New York, in 1822, it spread at the rate of about forty feet a day, until

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checked by frost. A stream of running water will sometimes stop its progress. Walls, and even fences, often afford efficient protection. The inmates of the jail in New Orleans have generally escaped infection. A thin board partition seemed to be an impenetrable barrier during the epidemic on Governor's Island in 1856. At Cadiz, Lisbon, and other places, a well-travelled street has proved its Rubicon; and one instance is recorded where it attacked all the sailors whose berths were on one side of the ship before it crossed to the other. Inexplicable as these vagaries are, they are essentially characteristic of the disease. To prevent its spread, it is only necessary to maintain constant cleanliness, to remove nothing from the vicinity of the patient without adequate sterilization, and to cremate all substances which cannot be sterilized.

The poison of yellow fever is ponderable. It clings to low levels and usually follows the lines of greatest humidity. Like malaria, it is more active—or at least more to be feared—by night than by day. The danger from it in any quarter of an infected locality depends upon the presence primarily of filth, secondarily of dampness; and it increases in direct proportion to the confinement and stagnation of the air. Infected cellars are more dangerous than infected rooms. The holds of ships are notorious hotbeds of the disease.

In Havana the average height of the ground-floor of a house above the soil is but six or seven inches; and this space is unventilated. The earth is not only damp, but is sodden with putrefying organic matter. The houses are closely built, without adequate space for ventilation between them. In the poorer quarters the population is crowded, a whole family often occupying a single room. The emanations from the cesspool and garbage-vault pervade, as has been stated, the kitchen and the sleeping- and living-rooms, even of houses of the better class. The standard of personal cleanliness is, necessarily, very low. These conditions, for which the citizens are responsible, are sufficient in themselves to transform the most healthful locality into a fever-nest. In the case of Havana, they are accompanied by climatic conditions favorable to, but in no sense accountable for, the propagation of disease.[1] No amount of rainfall, no high average of humidity, and no degree of temperature will cause zymotic pestilence, if cleanliness be secured and maintained, and proper drainage of the soil established. The employment of these

[1] The climate in itself is salubrious. The temperature ranges from 70° to 90° F.; and breezes, usually from the north and northwest, are abundant in the hot months. The rainy season is not by any means a wet season. There are seldom more than twenty rainy days in any one month; and the average is less than half of this. In 1896, 78.08 per cent of the days were clear—not even cloudy.

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weapons drove the yellow fever for all time from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, and Charleston. Dr. Sternberg, Surgeon-General, U. S. A., in his report, to President Cleveland, on his official visit to Brazil, remarked:—

> "It is not too much to say that by well-executed sanitary measures the endemic plague so fatal to strangers could probably be entirely banished from this beautiful city [Rio de Janeiro]."

Dr. Hamilton, Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service in 1890, said in his report for that year:—

> "The United States would be the gainer, even in a pecuniary sense, if she were to donate to the Cuban Government sufficient funds to make Havana a healthy seaport. Yellow fever is almost always present in Havana and Rio de Janeiro; but it is beyond question that those cities could be made clean and healthy if proper measures were taken."

So certain is the desired result to follow intelligent and commensurate attempts to produce it, that a contractor, if granted sufficient power of hygienic control, might contract to reduce the death-rate to 25 per thousand, and to augment correspondingly the average duration of life and working period,—and this at a small percentage of the insurance premiums now paid to provide for unnecessary illness and premature death.

It is true that, in the pestilential swamps bordering the southern end of the harbor, one natural condition does exist, which is responsible directly for the death of many from malarial fevers, and, indirectly, for the lowering of vitality which has made many more peculiarly susceptible to the attacks of other diseases. The tropical malarial fever is not the indefinite elusive *malaise* to which we are wont to charge the languors that too often result from our own indiscretions and excesses. It is the malignant malarial fever, which during our civil war prostrated 13,673 men, of whom 3,370 (23.91 per cent) died, and which killed 7,000 Spaniards in Cuba in 1897. It is a disease from which there is no well-defined immunity. The poison is eliminated from the system very slowly; and attacks are likely to recur after any derangement of the vital functions.

Although the immediate cause of malarial fever has not been clearly recognized, the correction of the remote cause is followed by the sure and speedy disappearance of the disease. This remedy consists in lowering the level of the ground-water, in minimizing its movement under tidal influence, in preventing the alternate flooding and exposure of organic deposits, and in the alternate invasion of the latter by fresh and

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salt water. This is a simple piece of engineering work. After a permanent reduction of the ground-water level has been effected, but before the settling of the soil has ceased, the reclaimed area becomes available for agricultural uses. The opening and overturning of the soil assists in the oxidation of its impurities; and the growing vegetation takes up the products of this oxidation with profitable results. The benefit of early cultivation is thus twofold. Incidentally, the drainage of the swamps will decrease bronchitis, rheumatism, phthisis, and kindred diseases.

In the notes of his proposed report to the United States Government, which Colonel Waring brought with him from Cuba, the following improvements are specified as absolutely necessary for the sanitary redemption of Havana:

(1) The immediate organization of a Department of Public Cleaning, "under the full control of a single commissioner experienced in the conduct of such work," who should have authority to act as occasion may require.

The chief function of the Department would be the maintenance of a "constant state of cleanliness" in all streets and places of public business or resort, including the *abattoirs* and markets. "It should also control the disposal of all wastes, except sewage—by cremation and otherwise."

(2) The construction of a system of sewers "to receive the liquid wastes of all houses of the main city." The topography of the city divides it naturally into several districts. Each of these should be served by a distinct sewerage system, which should discharge directly into the harbor or the Gulf, as the case may be. "Before such discharge, the effluent should be effectively clarified by one of the various well-known methods; so that it would carry only its dissolved impurities." The dilution would be immediate and more than sufficient; for the daily movement of sea water into and out of the harbor is about six thousand times as great as would be the day's discharge of clarified sewage from the harbor slope of the city.

(3) The clearing out and filling with clean earth of all the cesspools and garbage-vaults, and the supplying to each house of a suitable water-closet, connected with the public sewer system. T[redacted]ished should be practically automatic in operation [redacted]age from ignorance or carelessness. They shou[redacted]ign substance able to cause an obstruction i[redacted]er could pass out of sight. If more e[redacted]s

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may be put in by the householder, under proper supervision, at his own expense. The immediate installation of a water-closet in each house is the only course which will make possible the annihilation of the cess-pool; and Havana will not be a healthy city until this result is accomplished. The benefit that will be gained when it is done is out of all proportion to the insignificant cost of the doing.

The following table shows the death-rates from typhoid fever (a representative zymotic disease) in ten cities, before and after the introduction of sewerage and house drainage:—

City.	Before Sewerage.	After Sewerage.
Munich	2.10	.63
Dantzic	.99	.24
Breslau	.92	.32
Frankfort	.74	.15
Berlin	.92	.29
Vienna	1.20	.21
Brussels	1.00	.37
London	1.02	.45
Boston	1.74	.56
Brooklyn	.32	.15
Average —a reduction of 69.23 per cent.	1.095	.337

Doubtless the introduction of pure water-supplies and other hygienic improvements influenced the above results.

The subjoined table shows the difference in typhoid fever death-rates, not of the same city between one date and another, but of sewered as compared with unsewered cities during the same period (1880–84). Its evidence is conclusive:—

Sewered.	Rate.	Unsewered.	Rate.
Munich	.17	Paris	.99
Dantzic	.15	Marseilles	1.28
Frankfort	.14	Turin	.95
Breslau	.33	Naples	.71
Hamburg	.26	Palermo	1.31
Berlin	.29	St. Petersburg	.99
Brussels	.33	Riga	1.59
Lo	.23	Budapest	.92
N	.30	Baltimore	.48
P	.15	Cincinnati	.73
	.21	Catania	1.90
	23	Average	1.07

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(4) The paving, or repaving, of all the streets with the best quality of asphaltum. Some form of artificial paving of the streets of cities is indispensable. Mr. Edwin Chadwick says that between the two divisions of a town population, similarly situated in general condition, one part inhabiting streets which are unpaved, and another inhabiting streets that are paved, a difference of health is observed. He cites instances showing the sanitary benefit resulting from paving.

Laying aside all considerations of comfort and economy, which in themselves are sufficient to warrant its construction, asphaltum is the best paving material from a hygienic standpoint. Being a monolithic sheet it is impervious alike to the rise of exhalations *from* the earth and the soakage of liquids *into* the earth. It is easily cleaned; and, as it can be cleaned without sprinkling, it can be cleaned dry. At intervals it can be thoroughly washed with a hose, and all surplus water removed immediately with a squeegee. The absence of dust and the minimizing of noise are hygienic benefits of secondary degree.

(5) The erection of a new *abattoir*, adequate to all the needs of the population, and furnished with modern appliances for the inoffensive utilization of the entire animal, so that no refuse remains to be got rid of.

(6) The construction of "a suitable and sufficient incinerating furnace, for the complete and inoffensive destruction of garbage and other refuse," including dead animals, street sweepings, mattresses, discarded clothing, rags, excelsior, paper, and similar substances, which might serve as vehicles of contagion. The experiments made by Col. Waring, while Street Cleaning Commissioner of New York, indicated that such a furnace may produce steam in quantities large enough to be valuable.

(7) The reclamation and drainage of all the marshes, or at least of those bordering the harbor on the south and west. "This reclamation to be made after the 'Polder' method of Holland—by diking out the harbor and the water-courses and moving the water by pumping."

(8) The establishment of a "power-plant sufficient for this pumping, for pumping sewage where necessary, and for propelling the machinery of the *abattoir*."

This ends Col. Waring's specific recommendations. They cover the field of needed radical reforms. Other fragmentary memoranda indicated clearly that he intended to write further on the following subjects:—

Supplemental to the Department of Public Cleaning, there should be a Board of Sanitary Control, vested with full authority to formulate san-

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itary regulations and to enforce them. Its duties should include the inspection of plumbing and drainage work, the securing of ample ventilation of public and private buildings, the granting or refusing of permits to open trenches, etc., the oversight of the sewage clarification works, the inspection of food-supplies, the recording of diseases and deaths, the isolation of all cases of communicable disease, vaccination, the definition and abatement of nuisances, the enforced evacuation and demolition of buildings unfit for human habitation or dangerous to the public health, the approval of building plans, and the supervision of construction. It should provide for the establishment of public baths and public comfort stations, and supervise their maintenance.[1] It should also control the management of the *abattoir*, not as to the disposal of any wastes,—for this is a function of the Department of Public Cleaning,—but by rigid inspection of the animals before slaughter, and by enforcing such gentleness in their handling and care as will obviate the degeneration in their flesh incident to fear and irritation.

In short, the Board of Sanitary Control should do all that a well-organized and wide-awake Board of Health in our own country is supposed to do—and more too. It *must* be zealous, untiring, and aggressive; for in Havana it must meet and overcome, not a few stragglers from the army of disease, but a powerful foe strongly intrenched on his own ground.

A campaign of popular sanitary education must be inaugurated. The people of Havana have been living over and in the midst of filth for so long, and their unsanitary habits have become so firmly fixed, that no sudden repentance and conversion to a clean heart and a right spirit need be expected. It is more than likely, indeed, that they may be disposed to resent any attempt to regulate, or even to criticise, their domestic customs.

The work of reform will never be firmly established, however, until the citizens can be made to appreciate the wisdom and the advantage of the new *régime*. They should be instructed by free public lectures, which would command attention and excite popular interest by their novelty, if for no other reason. As a race, they are fond of oratory and are easily swayed by a good speaker; but, for political reasons, public gatherings, save at church and the theatre, have been practically un-

[1] Chadwick cites a case of an English institution, where drainage, frequent bathing, and thorough ventilation reduced a death-rate, which seemed already low, by 75 per cent. He says: "If a great epidemic were to occur again, I would proclaim and enforce the active application of soap and water as a preventive. I have had frequent opportunities of observing this plan as a factor of sanitation."

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known. This restriction is, of course, removed; and every advantage should be taken of the opportunity for sanitary enlightenment. The people must be made to understand the necessity of the immediate removal of all waste organic matters from the vicinity of habitations, and the importance of personal cleanliness, of abundant ventilation, and of keeping the streets clean.

Practical hygiene should be taught in the schools; and the children should be organized as volunteer aids of the Department of Public Cleaning, as was done so successfully in New York. Cleanliness is contagious. Clean streets mean cleaner houses and cleaner people. Little by little, the influence exerted upon the children will be felt in the homes; and before a generation passes the battle will be won for all time. Children brought up amid noxious physical surroundings are inferior in physique and general health to those reared in wholesome environment. Dr. Lyon Playfair, when making sanitary inspections in an unfamiliar town, used to visit the schools, pick out the sickliest children, and trace them to their homes. They proved sure guides to the filthiest quarters in the community.

But physical deterioration is not the only concomitant of unhealthful surroundings. Moral influences are less effective; and the mental perceptions are incapable of holding, or even of receiving, a keen edge. Sound morality and delicate sensibility are incompatible with filthy habits and abodes.

Of less pressing need, but still an important factor in the improvement of the city's condition, is a revision of the custom—practically universal—of laying the first floors of the houses close to the ground, without adequate means for ventilating the space between. Probably, no immediate radical change is practicable or wise; but gradual improvement in this direction may be made, and similar defects in future construction avoided, by requiring that the floors of all new buildings, and all old floors which need relaying, be raised so far above the ground, and be so provided with means of ventilation, as to insure a free circulation of air under them.

It may seem strange that no reference has been made to the dredging of the harbor—so urgently advocated by some advisers—or to any improvement of it, save such as would be effected by the withholding of solid organic matters from the *abattoir*, sewage, and dumping-grounds, and by the construction of the dikes at its southern end. As has been said, the tidal flow is more than sufficient to effect the purification of the clarified sewage, which Col. Waring proposed to empty into the har-

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bor. So long as solid wastes are withheld, its surplus oxidizing power will gradually destroy the accumulation of putrescible material.

To dredge the harbor now would be dangerous work; for it would stir up and expose to the air vast quantities of putrid filth. Later, if Col. Waring's recommendations should be carried out, it would mean only the removal of innocuous mud. Navigation is not yet impeded by the deposits; and the rate at which the harbor is silting up—one-third of 1 per cent per year—makes it evident that a delay of even ten years would not be injurious to commerce. Long before this time has elapsed the harbor should be clean.

Havana can be freed from her curse. The price of her freedom is about $10,000,000. Can the United States afford to redeem her? For once humanity, patriotism, and self-interest should be unanimous, and their answer should be, Yes!

The enormous possible saving of pain, misery, and wasted life is evident. The war against disease would be indeed a "war of humanity," which would call for no explanations and would need no apologies. It would place, not only Cuba, but all the civilized nations of the earth, in our debt. It would be a link of gold in the chain of universal brotherhood which will one day bind the world together.

The sanitary rehabilitation of his country would raise the Cuban to a higher plane physically, socially, morally, industrially, and financially. Having given him his freedom, this would be the greatest benefit we could possibly bestow upon him; for the natural resources of the Island are so exceptional that to make it healthy is to make it wealthy.

The economy of hygienic measures is not only an economy of pain, misery, and life, and a profitable investment for the future, but is a saving of money *now*. It is estimated that a single epidemic, introduced into the United States from Havana, cost $100,000,000 cash in loss to industries and commerce alone. But this was not the only monetary loss. The cost of funerals, medical attendance, and nurses, and the loss of earnings must be added, to say nothing of the actual cash value of each life thrown away. In spite of almost universal ignorance and apathy upon the subject, each human life has, incontrovertibly, an actual money equivalent; though opinions differ as to the best method of computing it. Until the age of productive capacity is reached, it is represented by the amount disbursed for its birth, maintenance, and education. During the earning period it is the capitalization of income from labor —net wages—at a rate which would secure the extinction of the capital at the end of the average period of working capacity. Or, viewed from

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the standpoint of the Charities Commissioner, it is the amount necessary to purchase an annuity sufficient to support those left dependent by its removal, until the capable reach the producing age and the incapable die. English authorities estimate the average value of human life—man, woman, and child together—under ordinary rates of mortality, at from £129 to £200. American computations vary from $1,000 to $2,000, under similar conditions. During epidemics, when the proportion of adult deaths is vastly increased, the average value of a life is greatly in excess of $2,000. The pension system of the United States makes the value of a soldier's life much higher than any of these sums.

A further monetary saving would be effected in the reduced expense of quarantine service; in the lower cost of police and penal administration, which always fluctuates with the death-rate; in the increased efficiency of the people under better physical conditions; and in the reduction of insurance rates. The organized observance of sanitary regulations in the British army in India has resulted in an average yearly saving of £532,170.

Sanitary improvement means financial improvement. Memphis spent less than $2,000,000 on her municipal house-cleaning. In the nine years following it her population had doubled (the previous ten years showed a decrease), and her business had increased by over $65,000,000.

Dr. Erastus Wilson, in a pamphlet entitled "El problema urgente," says:—

> "Until 1884, Naples was very like Havana in its unsanitary conditions. In that year, the great sanitary inspector—the Asiatic cholera—paid a visit to this metropolis and pointed out, with emphasis, the filthiness in that city. Enlightened by this severe warning, the Council of Naples awakened from its lethargy and voted a hundred million lire (approximately $23,000,000) to works of sanitation in the city. To this amount, the National Government added one hundred million lire more, making the total $46,000,000; and, after the expenditure of these funds, Naples is this day one of the healthiest and most beautiful cities in the world. In the meantime, its property has yielded, in increased value, much greater returns than the cost of the works."

In opening Cuba to industrial enterprise, we have led our people into temptation, without taking the necessary steps to deliver them from evil. For every American life wantonly sacrificed by a foreign state we demand satisfaction and reparation; and we enforce our demands, no matter what the cost. Shall we permit a wholesale slaughter of our citizens by the filthy, base-born murderers lurking in the cesspools and swamps of Havana?

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Among the last sentences that Col. Waring wrote were the following:—

"If these improvements are to be made, there must be no delay and no half-way measures. All that is indicated must be done in the best and most complete manner, and it must all be done before June 1, 1899.

If it is not all done, there is every reason to fear that yellow fever will be rife here next season, because of the large number of unprotected persons who would come, trusting to the efficiency of the partial carrying out of the work.

Would it not be wise to accept at once the fact that we are confronted with a danger compared with which war is insignificant, and proceed to meet it and to conquer it while we may? We cannot afford to wait until we have fed it and strengthened it with the lives of our people. The necessary reforms will call for costly work, even now; but every month's delay will make them more costly and more imperative.

We can set about these reforms now calmly and judiciously. Later, under the impulse of panic, we should work at far greater disadvantage."

G. EVERETT HILL.

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THE RECENT ELECTION AND ITS RESULTS.

A STUDY of the election and its results shows some remarkable and rather peculiar conditions. While the Democrats lose control of the next House by a very narrow margin, a majority of the popular vote cast for Congress in the United States is against the Republican party. Less than one thousand votes, properly distributed, would have given the Democrats a majority. In view of the fact that the McKinley Administration, previous to the election, made a strong appeal to the people for endorsement at the polls of its war policy, it seems to me that this failure to secure a majority of the total vote is the answer, proving that it has not such full and cordial endorsement as some of its ardent friends and party organs would have the people believe.

The triumph of the Democrats in the Congressional elections east and south of the Ohio River has been wonderful; but the losses of the Fusion candidates in the Western districts, that were considered safe, indicate that the latter sections were moved by considerations that did not appeal to the East.

In my judgment, the success of the Republicans in the West can be attributed to several causes. In the first place, the contemplated business advantage of the Philippines appealed to the people of the Pacific Coast more than it did to those of the Atlantic Coast. Again, the high prices obtained for cereals in the early part of the year, owing to the failure of the crops in Europe, made some impression upon the campaign in the West. Further, it is evident that many voters of Republican antecedents, who were friendly to the cause of Free Silver in 1896, voted for Republican candidates for Congress; recognizing that nothing could be accomplished in the way of Silver legislation with an unfriendly Executive in the White House, and being actuated by the desire to show to the world that we, as a nation, presented a united front in our demands on Spain. "Stand by the Administration," was one of the most potent arguments used by the Republican campaigners; and it did much to influence the vote that won the narrow majority which they will have in the Fifty-sixth Congress.

It is, therefore, a doubtful victory for the Republican Administra-

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tion, and not an endorsement of Republican legislation. The Democratic party is defeated, but its principles are triumphant; and the conduct of the war will be too remote to affect the elections of 1900. Then will come the battle royal between Democratic and Republican principles; and as the McKinley Administration has performed, or has failed to perform, its duty to the whole people, so it will be judged by the whole people.

The appeal made by the President in his swing around the circle, when he visited thirty-eight Congressional districts, and the persistent request of other Republican leaders on the stump that the Administration be sustained in its war with Spain, were not without their effect. In spite of the fact that the Democrats were really the original War party, many voters believed that a victory in this campaign by the Opposition would be construed as a failure to uphold the hands of the Administration, and would encourage Spain to be more persistent in her demands for concessions in the terms of peace. These things seemed to produce an apathy among the Democratic voters, particularly throughout the Middle and Extreme West, where the methods and partisan measures of the Republican Administration, in its conduct of the war, were not so well understood as they were in the East. In addition to this, the liberal use of money not only gave the Republicans a strong organization, but helped to get their vote to the polls. While the foregoing are not all the causes that could be mentioned, they are sufficient to account for the Republican success.

Free Silver played but a small part in the elections in the East, and even less in the West. It is no longer a bugaboo to the people. Those who believe in the principles of Democracy, and are opposed to the Republican policy of restriction, are not to be deterred hereafter from voting because their party is committed to equal rights for silver and gold: this is one lesson that the election has certainly made clear. On the financial question the Democratic party is committed to Bimetallism, while the Republican party is irrevocably committed to the Single Gold Standard; and no amount of dodging or avoidance on the part of the local leaders of either party can change this.

It is apparent, therefore, that the Gold Democrats, particularly in the East, have come back to the Democratic party; desiring to submit their case and their opinions to the consideration of the next national convention, and then to abide by the will of the majority.

The State of Michigan, which contributed largely to the defeat of the Democratic party in the battle for control of the Lower House, voted for

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candidates for Governor both of whom were committed to the cause of Bimetallism, and the friends of Free Silver in that State were confused; while the Republican party, with a liberal use of money, was able to record a remarkable triumph at the polls, which had a very important effect upon the efforts of the Democratic Committee to bring about a majority.

It is argued by the Gold Standard organs throughout the country that, because the West gave Republican majorities, Free Silver is dead. It would be just as consistent to argue that, because of the enormous Democratic gains in the Congressional elections in the East, the Gold Standard has suffered. Neither would be correct. It is not in the power of individuals or parties to create issues or to keep them alive. Events make issues; and the near approach of the campaign of 1900 may discover that "Free Silver at 16 to 1" is not the acute issue it was in 1896, by reason of the fact that, for a time, other issues that must be settled may assert themselves and, along with Bimetallism, claim recognition from the people.

Out of the results of the war may come questions of annexation involving the granting of equal rights to a people of doubtful ability to govern themselves, and bringing to this country a responsibility hardly yet dreamed of, that may increase the burdens of taxation and hamper the liberties of our seventy-odd millions of citizens.

And the evident intention of the leaders of the Republican party to legislate into existence a consolidated bank, a credit and money trust, will create an issue that will stir the hearts of the people in 1900 as never before. In the contemplated creation of this trust of trusts the smaller bankers, manufacturers, tradesmen, farmers, wage-earners, and business men will take a lively interest; and it may, to some extent, overshadow the question of Bimetallism. The issuance of money, whether coined or printed, is a function of Government; and it should not be entrusted to private corporations. It was not the intention of the framers of the Constitution that banks should be allowed to issue paper money for the people. To give that privilege and make it exclusive to the banks, is to put it in their power, by combination and unity of interest, to control the money of the country, and thus to make them masters of all industry and commerce.

The Republicans elected to the Fifty-sixth Congress are pledged to the retirement of greenbacks and to give national banks the right to issue paper money in their place. All this is contemplated by the McCleary Bill now before Congress. It will result in one great bank, with ten

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thousand branches. Independent local institutions, managed by citizens, could not well be established in the event of this Bill becoming law; and those now in existence would be compelled to join the trust or to retire from business. If this legislation is attempted during the Fifty-sixth Congress, it will create an issue that will be paramount to all others in 1900.

In taking control of both branches of the Legislative, as well as of the Executive, Department of the United States Government, the Republican party accepts the full responsibility before the country for its action; and while it has it in its power to produce new issues, in dealing with the new conditions that have arisen out of the war,—issues that at least for a time may take their place alongside the Silver and the Banking questions,—let us all hope that they will so legislate as to grant the fullest equality to American citizens; giving equal rights to all, and special privileges to none. In that event those who are now cast down by defeat will rejoice that this is a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." But if, on the other hand, the legislation of the Republican party in the Fifty-sixth Congress shall be inimical to the interests of the people, the loss of the late election will bring to those who engage in the campaign of 1900 the following consolations; viz., there will be no confusion of tongues; the issues will be sharply defined; the responsibility will be fixed; and they will not go into the next canvass under false colors, but in a way that will enable the people to decide between the right and the wrong.

In such a campaign as that the Democratic party is willing to submit its case without fearing the result. JAMES KERR.

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LIQUOR LEGISLATION IN NORWAY.

THE Scandinavian licensing system has for some years attracted attention as a form of liquor legislation which appeared to be accomplishing something without attempting too much. It has been the subject of an admirable report from our National Commission of Labor in 1893[1]; of a Bill introduced into the English House of Lords by the Bishop of Chester in 1893[2]; and of a special inquiry made in 1897 by the devoted and able secretary of the German Temperance Association, Dr. W. Bode.[3] In 1894 a modified form of the system was proposed in Massachusetts by a few zealous advocates, and came within a single vote of being legalized for a few cities and towns. Within the last year, however, some new aspects of the scheme have come into prominence, and some new difficulties have appeared, which are especially instructive to Americans; and the present situation seems to justify further study.

It is to be understood that the so-called "Company system" is not a form of prohibitory legislation. It can have no interest for those who hold that, under all circumstances, the sale of liquor should be made illegal. To many thoroughgoing Prohibitionists, indeed, the Norwegian plan is peculiarly obnoxious. If, they argue, a form of license-law is discovered which is obviously a vast improvement on existing legislation, is it not likely to postpone the day of more radical reform? Such persons are not concerned with temporary expedients or practical politics, but are standing for a principle which, however hopeless their cause may seem for the present, must be maintained. The attitude of these reformers to the Norwegian idea is like the attitude of an English revolutionary Socialist to an industrial scheme like the Coöperative system. Coöperation, wherever practicable, certainly seems a better social arrange-

[1] Fifth Special Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor (1893)—"The Gothenburg System of Liquor Traffic," by E. R. L. GOULD.

[2] Authorized Companies (Liquor) Bill, 1893. See also THE BISHOP OF CHESTER in the "North American Review" for May, 1894.

[3] "Wirtshaus-Reform in England, Norwegen, und Schweden" (1898). The advance sheets of this report have been generously furnished for the purpose of the present article. See also JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS in THE FORUM for December, 1892, and E. R. L. GOULD in THE FORUM for March and November, 1894.

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ment than the Competitive system; and it has certainly done great things for British working-men. Yet, after all, the Socialist may argue, Does not the success of coöperation postpone the day of revolution? Does it not leave the working-man content with things as they are, and take out of him the spirit of revolt, which is the very seed of Socialism? The better, therefore, the temporary makeshift, the less it commends itself to the radical mind. The only people who can care to learn the lessons of the Norwegian plan are those who have made up their minds that in many communities the sale of liquor is going to continue for a long time to come, and who, being forced to recognize this fact, want to make this inevitable sale as free from social peril as possible.

It is to be remembered, further, that the Company system does not apply to the whole of Norway. On the contrary, the country as a whole is under a prohibitory law, procured by local option. Allowance is made in some places for the supposed necessities of foreign tourists; by special royal license certain hotel-keepers on routes of travel may supply *bona fide* guests; but in the country districts generally the native population is, to an almost unparalleled degree, removed from the solicitations of the drink traffic. Illegal selling is practically suppressed by the severity and the certain execution of the law. If a fisherman or a farmer wants brandy, he must send for it to one of the towns where a licensed company sells, and must there buy it at wholesale and at a high price; and the distance, cost, and prohibition of further sale combine to make these purchases rare. As a matter of fact, in the great majority of Norwegian villages it is impossible to get a drink of distilled liquor. It is a country of the Maine Liquor Law, and of that law thoroughly and beneficently enforced.

It has been often remarked, in American discussions of the Norwegian system, that the characteristics and social conditions of the two countries are so different as to make any inferences unprofitable. Yet no one who is familiar with the coastwise villages of the State of Maine, especially those whose traits are as yet unspoiled by the invasion of the summer boarder, can fail to notice something of the same type of both character and environment among the country folk of Norway. There is the same reticent, sturdy, unambitious, and well-informed race of men who have for generations done "business in great waters." There are the same plodding industry wringing its subsistence from a few rods of rocky soil, the same universal honesty which makes all the precautions of travellers needless, and the same quiet tolerance of the tourist which the Down-Easter manifests. The lonely haymaker on a Nor-

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wegian alp, miles distant from any dwelling, shows not a sign of curiosity as the traveller drives by, just as a Maine fisherman will let a steam-yacht pass so near as to rock his dory and yet not lift his eyes.

Norway is in a formal sense only a monarchy: the spirit of its people is as democratic and self-respecting as that of the Yankee. As in the villages along the coast of Maine, most of the men have followed the sea, and many have travelled far; but they like to end their days in their native hamlets. Everywhere there is a condition of life little above poverty; but nowhere are there beggars or loafers or extortionate landlords. It is a laborious and isolated life, in which the summer's toil does little more than tide over the winter's darkness. But this hard struggle for existence has bred a self-contained, self-respecting stock; and the same conditions which have made Prohibition effective in many a Maine village make it effective in the interior of Norway.

When we turn, on the other hand, to the problem of the city, we find Norwegian legislation discriminating. It is not pretended that regulations which are best for small and scattered communities are also best for the dense and varied populations of large seaport towns. Local option has, indeed, permitted experiments in Prohibition in several such towns, with the same shifting of vote from license to no license and back again which one sees in many American cities. In general, however, the law looks not to the suppression of the drink traffic in large centres of population, but to its strict regulation and limitation. The liquor traffic, it is held, is in so many and such grave ways a source of social and political peril that it is not to be trusted to private dealers, with their natural desire to develop a demand. It is, on the contrary, a good point at which to apply the doctrine of socialistic legislation,—the taking over by the community of that in which the whole community has an interest and a risk.

Here enters the Company system. The town, having voted that licenses shall be granted for the next five years, makes over the monopoly of such sales to a stock company, organized by public-spirited citizens for the purpose not of increasing, but of restricting, the business. The interest on capital invested in such a company is limited to 5 per cent; and all accounts are subject to the supervision of the municipal authorities. All further profits are devoted to objects of public usefulness,—not, however, to charities or institutions which would be otherwise maintained by the town, but to voluntary methods of relief and social advantages, especially such as seem to counteract the drink-habit. "Does this mean," it was asked in astonishment during Amer-

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ican discussions of the subject, "that people who detest the liquor trade are expected to invest their money in it?" "Are you proposing that your deacons shall run a saloon?" inquired a sarcastic opponent of the Massachusetts Bill of a devoted clergyman who was defending it. The Norwegian plan frankly answers, Yes: if the only practicable way to lessen drunkenness in a community is for Christians to take the traffic into their own hands, that is just what Christians ought to do. It is, as Mrs. Livermore remarked, like the state of things when Northern Abolitionists bought slaves in order to free them. It is perfectly reasonable for a citizen to be personally pledged to abstinence and a warm advocate of no-license legislation wherever practicable, and at the same time, in the case of a town where there is no reasonable chance of success for the no-license vote, to advocate the Company system as the best second choice.

Precisely how one of these companies operates may be indicated by a single illustration. Bergen is a city of 54,000 inhabitants, with a great fishing business and a considerable foreign trade. If to the commerce of Portland, Maine, we should add the fisheries of Gloucester, Massachusetts, the social conditions along the docks of Bergen would be about represented. In an American town of this character we should have either licensed saloons up to the legal limit of number, with every possible solicitation to drink and every kind of disorder, or else we should have an attempt at Prohibition, with the brazen defiance of law and the fiery adulterations of liquor which are to be found along the wharves of Portland. In Bergen there are nine saloons and four wholesale depots. The Company has a capital of $20,000, in four hundred shares, held by two hundred and thirty-seven stockholders. Among these are many of the leading citizens, bankers, consuls, teachers, a Member of Parliament, and ten women. It is not only a part of public spirit to take stock in the Company, but the shareholder has also some part in determining to what form of charity the profits shall go.

The Bergen Company happens to be among the most limited in its scope of operations. It deals with the distilled-liquor business only; and it makes no attempt to provide in its saloons any element of sociability or agreeableness. When one enters a Company retail shop in Bergen he finds it a place of the most cheerless and repellent character. There are no tables or chairs or encouragements for idlers, but simply counters provided with the small glasses of the Company, measured, like an apothecary's, for the exact dose. A customer enters, drinks his thimbleful, as if of medicine, and at once withdraws. Instead of

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solicitation there is the barest permission. The business is conducted, as it were, under protest; and nothing but the most resolute determination to drink—a determination which no prohibitory law would be able to frustrate—seems likely to draw one into these inhospitable dispensaries. On the walls are various deterrent notices like the following: "No credit"; "No loafing"; "No disorderly conduct"; "No sale to an intoxicated person." The regulations set forth that it is the duty of the superintendent not to encourage, but to check, excessive drinking. No liquor can be sold to minors. The saloons are open from 8 to 12 in the morning and from 1:30 to 7 in the afternoon. On Sundays and holidays they close at 1 P.M. That is to say, the sale stops just when an American bar begins its best business; and the prohibition which could not be obtained outright is obtained for every evening and every non-working-day. Except at these stores, it is practically impossible to buy a drink of spirits in Bergen. A traveller staying at the leading hotel, and wishing to fill his flask for the exigencies of a long journey, must go a half-mile to the Company's wholesale dépôt, and must then buy not less than a half-bottle of brandy.

In spite, however, of all these deterrent features, the liquor business in Norway is enormously lucrative. The net profit of the Bergen Company in 1897 was about $50,000; and of this sum about $30,000 was distributed by vote of the stockholders among seventy-seven organizations and institutions of the town. Since the establishment of the Company in 1877 there has been thus distributed a total sum of about $600,000. A few of the enterprises thus assisted are the following:—

Distributed to	In 1897.	Since 1877.
City Orphan Asylum	$250	$50,000
Tree-planting and Road-making	750	40,000
Bergen Museum and Library	2,000	40,000
Public Library	1,500	54,000
Sloyd Schools	3,000	36,000
Playgrounds	500	7,000
Exposition Building	2,500	35,000
Care of Neglected Children	800	10,000
Theatre	3,500	26,000
Sailors' Mission	125	725
Pension Fund for Employees of Company	1,000	13,000

In other towns of Norway the Company system differs in many details from the method adopted in Bergen. In Christiania, for instance, we come nearer to what would commend itself, on the whole, to American traditions. Here the Company undertakes the sale of wine and

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beer as well as that of distilled liquor; and here, also, the saloons are designed to be agreeable and inviting, instead of barren and repellent. In Christiania, however, there are special difficulties to be met, and the monopoly of sale is by no means complete. A considerable number of life-licenses for the sale of spirits hold over from a time before the organization of the Company; and for the sale of wine and beer without spirits there were held in 1896 two hundred and forty licenses besides those of the Company. The chief operations, therefore, of the Company in Christiania, as elsewhere, are in the sale of distilled liquors; and, in general, Norwegians, like most Europeans, are not in the habit of thinking of wine and beer as intoxicants.

None the less the system does important service in Christiania. In that city of 160,000 people there are fourteen Company saloons, besides concessions granted by the Company for sale in thirteen hotels and restaurants. The saloons, unlike those in Bergen, are, as I have said, quite attractive in appearance, and offer inducements for the customer to remain. They are provided with tables and chairs, are scrupulously neat, absolutely orderly, and are served for the most part by neat and respectable women. To their licensed business is added the sale of food and of non-alcoholic drinks. The superintendent gets no personal profit from the sale of liquor, but may sell on his own account food, as well as coffee, tea, milk, and chocolate.

Thus, this other type of the Norwegian system, while it permits the purchase of alcoholic drink, offers every inducement for the sale of non-intoxicating refreshments. The inclusion of wine and beer in the restrictions applying to spirits, and the provision of resources for sociability seem to make this type more consistent both with human nature and with good sense. The reluctance to classify wines with spirits has, in fact, led to a serious evil. A cheap and inflaming drink has been devised, known as "laddevin," built up with alcohol to the limit of low taxation, —22 per cent;—and it provides a dangerous substitute for the pure liquor of the Companies. It is an evasion of the law, which, as Dr. Bode in his very intelligent report remarks, indicates that effective regulation should consider not the description of a drink, as wine or brandy, —or we might add as tonic or medicine,—but simply the percentage of alcohol in it. The same percentage under any name should be subject to the same law.

With all allowance, however, for the special difficulties affecting the system, the contrast is striking enough when one compares the situation with anything existing in an American city under a license law.

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Instead of three hundred and twenty saloons, licensed to sell spirits, as under the Massachusetts law would be permitted in Christiania, there are but fourteen, in addition to the hotels and restaurants; and these fourteen are closed at 7 P.M., are provided with non-alcoholic beverages, are prohibited from entertaining minors or persons showing any sign of intoxication, and apply their profits to the public good. In 1895 the Christiania Company distributed about $70,000 among eighty-six institutions; and in the same year, the seven principal companies of the Kingdom distributed a total of about $397,000.

What one would expect from such a system, in its effect on the amount of drink consumed, seems borne out by the national statistics. When the companies were originally organized the drink-habit in Norway threatened the very fibre of the people. Distilling was at that time permitted to every peasant; brandy of an inferior quality was the common drink; and the consumption of distilled spirits was about 8 quarts *per capita*. From 1876 there has been a striking decrease in brandy-drinking to 3.3 quarts in 1890; and Norway is now, in this particular, the most temperate of European countries. The Norwegian and German figures for 1895 are thus compared by Dr. Bode:

Country.	Litres *per Capita*.		
	Distilled.	Wine.	Beer.
Norway	3.5	2.4	21.7
Germany	13.2	6.4	115.7

There are, however,—as has been said,—some new and peculiar difficulties in which the system is just now involved, and which are suggestive of what would probably happen if the plan were tried in America. Curiously enough, these new difficulties proceed not from inveterate enemies of the system, but from the people who have been to a large degree responsible for it. On the one hand, is the new action of the Government, through whose legislation the system was created. Both the National Parliament and the town councils have begun to realize what a prodigious income they have been permitting other people to give away. At first they were satisfied with asking the companies to subsidize some public causes along with the private ones. Dr. Gould, writing in 1892, remarked that the city council of Bergen asked for such help from the Bergen Company for a city theatre, but did not get it. In 1896, however, such a subsidy was received; and now a legal demand is made for direct participation, both of state and town, in the profits of the companies. By a law, whose enforcement began in 1897, a proportion of

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the net income, which will in six years amount to 65 per cent, is to go to the National Government; and, further, 15 per cent is taken over by the municipality. Thus, when the law is in full force, only 20 per cent of profits will be left for the stockholders to appropriate; and the system will retain but little of one of its most characteristic features—the complete separation of its income from political interests. The modification proposed is practically a return to the Gothenburg plan, on which it was supposed that Norway had greatly improved. One step more of state control would bring us to the South Carolina Dispensary system, where the Government itself becomes the monopolist in charge.

On the other hand, there is to be noticed, as operating against the Company system, the new activity of the Prohibitionists. Some of these reformers were probably never content with licensed sale on any terms; but many of them have taken part in the establishment of the licensed companies as the best practicable scheme. Now, however, they have come to believe that a further step can be taken. In the Act of 1894 a section was procured, providing that in all towns where a company existed a popular vote should determine whether the system should continue or should be supplanted by Prohibition. All citizens who had reached the age of twenty-five years—women as well as men—were to vote on this question. The towns were not to act simultaneously; but a certain number were to vote each year, and the result of the vote was to hold for five years. The Prohibitionists have used every effort, under this extended suffrage, to overthrow the Company system, and have been greatly strengthened by the vote of the women. The polling was at first much in their favor. In 1894 fifty-one towns had Company shops; and up to 1896, of twenty-two towns voting, sixteen, including Stavanger, the fourth town of the kingdom in population, prohibited all sale. Later polling however showed a reaction. In 1897 fifteen votes were taken; and Prohibition succeeded in but five. Early in 1898 eleven towns voted; and seven sustained the companies.

These varying results may be interpreted in different ways; just as similar contests under Local Option in America are variously regarded. To the Prohibitionist the reaction indicates the hold which the chance of income from the liquor trade still has on the minds of voters. To the supporters of the Company system the same reaction in their favor appears to come in part from the increase of unlicensed selling under Prohibition, and in part from the sober second thought of the community concerning the advantages of regulation. In whatever way the situation may be regarded, the system is just now threatened by this

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twofold attack,—on the one hand, of the politicians wanting the license-fees, and, on the other, of the Prohibitionists wanting to abolish the trade; and it is quite certain that any attempt to apply the system in America must count on the same combined opposition.

The most important lesson, however, to be learned from the present situation is this,—that it is the Company system which has educated the public sentiment of Norway to the point where Prohibition stands some chance of success. It is extremely improbable that the party of Abolition could have become so powerful if the experiment in regulation had not been thoroughly tried. Many earnest advocates of no license are even now stockholders in a company. They still believe in it as a substitute for licensed saloons; but they believe also that the time has come when the town can go a step further. As a citizen of Bergen said this summer: "It must be either the present system or Prohibition: it must be in no degree a relaxing of regulation."

This educational effect of a system of regulation certainly deserves consideration where Prohibition is beyond hope. To many citizens of the United States no final treatment of the subject will be reached until liquor is neither made nor sold nor drunk in the whole country. But, in the face of the facts that more than a million people are directly engaged in making and selling, that more than a thousand million dollars are annually spent on alcoholic drinks, and that hundreds of thousands of citizens of foreign birth are by instinct and habit totally opposed to their abolition, the consummation of the Prohibition ideal certainly seems for the present somewhat remote. Meantime there are things which can be done, and which here and there can be done at once. The saloon-power of a town may be taken out of politics; the interest of the private trader in increasing sales may be abolished; and early closing, strict regulation, and the provision of better forms of refreshment may be obtained without delay. It is not absolutely necessary to wait for legislation to authorize such experiments.

The Bishop of Chester and his friends, having failed for the present in securing the legislation they desired, formed in 1897 a voluntary corporation, known as the "People's Refreshment House Association"; and they already conduct four saloons under the general principles of the Norwegian system. That is to say, they recognize that there are many things to be considered in the Saloon Question besides the fact that drink is sold. There are accessories which gather about the saloon trade which, if not so bad as the drink-habit, are at least worth consideration. Gambling, betting, idling, wasting a week's wages in a night,—all these

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are a normal part of the saloon-habit; and, in some American cities, the demands of competition have even caused feminine frailty to be used as an attraction of trade. There is also at least one legitimate satisfaction which the saloon provides for the poor man and which it is cruel to take away altogether. The saloon is the poor man's club. It is his only centre of sociability, and gives him his one way of relief from the monotony and meagreness of his daily life. To remove the accessory perils of the saloon, and to leave its accessory pleasures, may not wholly satisfy one's social ideal; but it is at least better than leaving the pleasure and the peril to be found together. To enter a saloon and not be tempted to excess or misdemeanor, to make one's purchase and depart, or to remain in orderly sociability, is certainly not so well as if one should not enter the saloon at all; but it is certainly a way of patronizing the saloon which would work a practical revolution in many American towns.

One of the most striking facts about the Massachusetts campaign of 1894 was the unprecedented alarm which the Norwegian plan created among the liquor trade. It was a wholly reasonable alarm; for the proposition meant nothing less than the total loss of livelihood to private traders in the towns involved. The traffic was fighting for its life. To those who advocated the Bill, this undisguised concern of the liquor interest indicated that at last an effective weapon against the traffic had been found. What the sellers of liquor least wanted seemed likely to be the best form of attack that could be made on the sale. The liquor-dealers had borne with equanimity the oratorical attacks of the sentimentalists, and had even endured without complaint much restrictive legislation, because they knew how enormous was the commercial and political power still left in their hands. Here, however, was a measure which threatened their existence as much as a prohibitory law would threaten it, but which seemed likely to command more votes than Prohibition would ever receive. In such a situation it certainly seemed a pity that the limited and permissive measure proposed in Massachusetts should have found so little favor among the Temperance organizations of the State, and should have been at last defeated by a bare majority in which votes representing Prohibition and votes representing the liquor traffic were united in opposition to moderate reform. The Devil, it is said, laughs at a divided church; and certainly the forces that work for evil must take courage when they observe that, while there is a weak point on their flank, the only place where the good people are willing to attack is obviously impregnable. FRANCIS G. PEABODY.

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THE UPPER REGIONS OF THE AIR.

ABOVE us there extends a vast unexplored space far more interesting from a scientific point of view than the icy regions around the North Pole. No one can reach the limit of the upper regions of the air and live, unless he carries with him air to breathe and fuel to warm him; for at the paltry distance of ten miles above the earth the air is too thin to support respiration, and the thermometer would register far below zero. It would be a region of perpetual snow on a peak of the earth if it should rise to such a height. A person in a balloon could not hear a friend in a neighboring balloon, even if they were near enough to shake hands. There would be no medium for the propagation of sound-waves. There would, however, still be a medium for the conduction of electricity—a medium in fact of great conductibility—almost as good as a metal; and it is this medium at even a less height which Tesla proposes to use in his methods of transmitting power hundreds of miles through the air without wires.

The upper regions of the air have this hypothetical possibility. It will be interesting later to discuss the feasibility of such transmission of power. Meanwhile, let us consider this upper region in some of its physical aspects.

We live under a blanket of air which protects us from the extreme cold of outer space. This low temperature becomes evident fourteen or fifteen thousand feet above the surface of the earth, and would, as I have said, reach a point far below zero at a height of ten miles. At this height we should no longer observe the twinkling of the stars; for this scintillation is due to the movements of our atmosphere, which at the height I have mentioned would be extremely rarefied. If one could photograph the sun's spectrum at this altitude we could greatly extend our knowledge of the shortest wave-lengths of light; for the atmosphere completely absorbs such wave-lengths as are concerned in the X-ray phenomena. That this absorption really takes place, can be proved in a laboratory.

The heat and light which we receive from the sun are thus greatly modified by this blanketing layer of air. The long waves of the energy

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from the sun are called heat-waves. The intermediate waves are termed light-waves; and we receive these in full measure. The very short waves, however, are stopped by our atmosphere, and are transformed into—what? This is a question I shall endeavor to answer. Before doing this let us consider what other forms of energy we perceive in the upper regions of the air and on the surface of the earth.

The most striking example of another form of energy in the sky is an electrical storm. When it occurs at a great altitude in rarefied air we have the spectacle of the Northern Lights; and when it spreads over lower altitudes we have the thunder-storm. Both of these manifestations can produce electrical currents on the surface of the earth as well as magnetic disturbances.

These electrical currents and magnetic disturbances are as short-lived as the electrical storms. The heat from the sun and the light return with the utmost regularity every day; but the electrical manifestations are extremely irregular and sporadic. There is one magnetic phenomenon, however, which is as regular in its action as the return of the light after the night: this is the mysterious magnetism of the earth, which directs the compasses of our ships. I have called it mysterious; for there is no good theory to account for it, unless we are ready to accept the one I am about to propose. Can the disappearance of the short waves of light have anything to do with the production of electrical storms and the appearance of this weird new form of energy? Can this disappearance be connected in any way with the production of the magnetism of the earth?

We receive all our energy from the sun; and it is perhaps logical to conclude that the electrical storms and the magnetism of the earth result from the action of this heavenly body. I do not, however, refer to the direct influence of the sun as an electrified body or as a great magnet, inducing electrical and magnetic effects across ninety millions of miles of space. There are decided objections to this theory of direct action of the sun, the more important of which are the necessity of supposing the electrical charge on the sun to be very great—greater than is reasonable—and the necessity of supposing that the sun is more highly magnetized than the hardest steel. When we observe the gaseous envelope of the sun, and when we are conscious of the intense state of heat which must exist on the sun, we find it hard to believe in its supposable high state of magnetism. One thing seems to be evident; viz., that the disturbances of magnetism which are noticed on the earth, and which are called magnetic storms,—storms which disturb telegraph wires and which are

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connected with auroral displays,—are not caused by fluctuations in the state of magnetism of the sun. Lord Kelvin has calculated that fluctuations sufficient to produce the observed magnetic storm of June 25, 1885, would require an expenditure of electrical energy which would be equivalent to the whole light and heat radiated from the sun during a period of four months. This calculation is conclusive against the supposition that the magnetic storms are due to magnetic disturbances on the sun.

Yet the sun must be concerned in the phenomenon of the electrical storms in the atmosphere and in the phenomenon of the earth's magnetism. At least this hypothesis is consistent with the great modern doctrine, that all the energy we receive from the sun is electro-magnetic. What we term heat and light are in reality transformations of electrical energy. The sun, therefore, although it probably does not electrify our atmosphere as one charged pith-ball electrifies another, or produce the magnetism of the earth as one magnet induces magnetism in a piece of iron or steel, is undoubtedly concerned in both the phenomenon of the electrical state of our atmosphere and the phenomenon of the magnetism of the earth. Is it not possible that the short waves of energy may in some way produce electrical and magnetic effects in the upper regions of the air, and thus, being transformed, fail to manifest themselves as light at lower altitudes?

If we should contend for a transformation of what we call light-waves into electrical and magnetic waves, we should be in line with the present tendency of scientific thought, which more than suspects that light and heat and electro-magnetic waves do not differ in any respect except in regard to length.

It is believed that we have a method of producing extremely short waves by means of electrical discharges in highly rarefied spaces. Such discharges produce the effects of ultra-violet light to an unusual degree. Almost all substances, when submitted to their action, glow in the dark with a phosphorescent light. This is especially true of the diamond. Even ordinary paper becomes luminous. These luminous phosphorescent effects are said to be due to the X-rays; and the best authorities consider that the electrical discharges in a highly rarefied medium generate extremely short wave-lengths of light. They have never been detected at low altitudes. An observer on Pike's Peak, 14,000 feet above the sea, failed to discover them. Nevertheless, they may exist in the upper regions of the air. My chief contention in this article is that they do exist there, and that they are instrumental in producing the electricity of the atmosphere and the magnetism of the earth.

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Perhaps one of the chief reasons why we cannot detect the X-rays in our atmosphere, even at an altitude of 14,000 feet above the sea, is that they are absorbed by our atmosphere. Both these rays and ordinary ultra-violet rays are, in fact, thus absorbed to an extraordinary extent. The question arises, What is the equivalent of this absorption? Can it not be electrical and magnetic energy? There is one phenomenon of the X-rays, lately discovered, which is very significant in this connection. It has been discovered independently by two observers—M. Perrin, a Frenchman, and H. Winkelman, a German—that the X-rays have the property of communicating an electric charge to conductors. If, therefore, X-rays reach the earth from the sun, they are competent to give an electrical charge to our atmosphere. The side, therefore, of the earth turned toward the sun would receive a charge, in the upper good-conducting regions of the air. This charge would tend to dissipation; and there would be a flow of electricity toward the side of the earth not turned to the sun. The rotation of the earth on its axis from west to east would bring forward at each revolution fresh regions of the upper air to receive the electrical charging from the sun. There would be an accumulation of electricity on one side of the earth, and a diminution of electricity on the other. The conditions of the equalization of the electrical charge, or the flow of electricity, might be determined by the direction of rotation of the earth. If this flow took place from east to west, just opposite to the direction of rotation of the earth, and were sufficiently powerful, it would produce the magnetic north and south poles. It has been found that air submitted to the action of the X-rays continues for some time to manifest their influence. We should, therefore, expect a fall of electric pressure between the regions just entering into daylight and those in the full glare of the sun. This condition would direct the resulting electric current from east to west, or in the direction opposite to that of the earth's rotation.

By means of this theory we have substituted for a tremendous action at a distance, namely an electrified pith-ball effect, or an action of a great magnet, an action from point to point, by means of waves from the sun. The electrical storms in the lower regions of the atmosphere might then result from the disturbance of the extent of the charge in the upper regions by means of great commotions in the air, which constitutes a vast atmospheric sea. This great region has its storms as well as the oceans of water. The Northern Lights may be due to a dissipation of a portion of the electrical charge, through layers of rarefied and good-conducting air; and thunder-storms can be looked upon as local descent of high

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electrical conditions prevailing in the upper regions of the air. It may be remarked here that the theory, that atmospheric electricity is due to evaporation, is untenable; for the most delicate experiments fail to detect any electricity arising from the evaporation of water.

What chiefly interests me, however, in this theory is its bearing on the question of the earth's magnetism. The north pole of the earth is just within the Arctic Circle; while the south pole is certainly south of Tierra del Fuego, though its exact location is unknown. What is especially noteworthy in regard to these poles is the great distance they are apart. If the earth were composed of steel, and were magnetized permanently in the beginning, it would be impossible that two poles should occur eight thousand miles apart. There would be other poles, or what are called consequent poles, between the north pole of the earth and its south pole. The two poles of the earth must be due to what is termed a solenoidal action, that is, an action similar to that which a current of electricity exerts in circulating through a coil of wire. A north pole can be removed from a south pole by this arrangement as far as desired; while the longest permanent magnet that can be made is barely three feet in length. The distance, therefore, between the magnetic poles of the earth is a strong argument in favor of the theory that they are produced by electrical currents circulating about the earth.

Such currents, competent to produce the poles of the earth, have not been discovered in or on the earth. If they exist, they may circulate in the upper regions of the air. The theory promulgated above supposes that they result from the conversion of the shortest waves of light into electricity, and that the flow of electrical currents is brought about by the rotation of the earth. This theory demands a high state of electrification of the upper regions of the air, and great electrical conductibility in these regions. The phenomenon of thunder-storms is an evidence of the former; and the increased conductibility of rarefied air, up to a certain limit, can be abundantly shown. One of the most striking methods I have employed to show this consists in connecting a battery of ten thousand storage cells to two terminals which are separated by a space of six inches of air. When the air is exhausted from the space between these terminals to the degree of rarefaction which exists about six miles above the surface of the earth, the current from the battery leaps across the space with the greatest ease. Indeed, it is conducted by the rarefied medium almost as well as if this medium were a metal like copper.

I have already referred to the plans of Mr. Tesla to utilize the good

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conductibility of the upper regions of the atmosphere for the transmission of power over great distances. My recent experiences with very high electro-motive forces lead me to believe that great difficulty would be met in preventing flow from the generating apparatus to the earth; for, under an electrical pressure of two or three million volts, atmospheric air, even at the surface of the earth, is a fair conductor. Before one reached the height of ten miles—where there is greatly increased conductibility—the electricity would have deserted the terminal raised to that height and would have flowed to the ground, instead of taking the path through the air to the distant station. My apparatus should produce a spark of at least ten feet in length in ordinary air: I actually produce one six feet in length. In the dark one can see the reason for the diminished length; for luminous discharges are seen between the apparatus and the floor of the room. The inductive effect is so great that sparks can be drawn from the brick walls and the neighboring gas-pipes.

The fact remains that the upper regions of the air, at least at the height of ten miles, conduct electrical discharges with the greatest ease. If, however, these regions are practically employed for the transmission of power, the astronomical observers will be compelled to change the sites of their observatories to deserted mountain regions far from the neighborhood of cities; for there would be a fine display of celestial fireworks in the shape of luminous electrical discharges. Practical electricity now claims the earth as its own: it is no longer possible to make magnetic observations in our physical laboratories, on account of the trolley-roads. Is it possible that the upper regions of the air will be preëmpted, leaving the astro-physicists no alternative but refuge in some desolate and far-distant region?

The time when the upper regions of the air will be thus used commercially seems to me far distant. There are certainly great practical difficulties to be overcome. The sun, however, according to our theory, already excites electrical currents in these upper regions, which may produce the observed magnetism of the earth.

The theory, then, which I have broached in this article accounts for the phenomenon of the Northern Lights, thunder-storms, and the magnetism of the earth. Its comprehensiveness is peculiarly fascinating to me; for in these later days all the observed phenomena of electricity point to the truth of the theory that light, heat, and electricity differ only in wave-length.

JOHN TROWBRIDGE.

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SAN FRANCISCO'S STRUGGLE FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT.

MUCH advance is being made in better forms of municipal government in the various cities of the United States; but there are still grievous problems to be solved. It is not merely a question of municipal corruption, although this obtains in many places: it is a question of better charters, better laws, and better opportunities for good government. The friends of good government—and these include nearly all business men engaged in legitimate pursuits—need to maintain a constant agitation, a persistent determination, to institute good laws and to insist upon their execution.

San Francisco has for many years been struggling for good government, owing to an obsolete and inefficient charter in the form of a "Consolidation Act of the City and County of San Francisco" (approved April 19, 1856), with several amendments. For forty-two years the various changes in this Act introduced by successive legislatures made it very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to decide the meaning of the laws governing the city. Four times a board of freeholders has been elected by the people of San Francisco, to form a new charter; and each of the charters thus framed has been rejected by the people. The first, in 1880, cost the city, in expenses of freeholders and election, over $25,000; the vote being: For the charter, 4,144; against, 19,143. In 1883 the second charter was rejected by a vote of 9,368 to 9,336, at an expense of over $21,000. In 1887 the vote on the third charter stood: 10,869 for, and 14,905 against, the expense to the city being more than $17,000. The charter proposed by the freeholders in 1896 was rejected by a vote of 17,697 to 15,891, with the attendant expenses.

During all these years constant agitation for better government was carried on by the various reform clubs, by private citizens and by newspapers. There are at least twenty-five improvement associations in active operation, the most important of which is the Merchants' Association, composed of the leading business men of the city. The formation of the Merchants' Association was an epoch in the progress of good government. It began its career in 1894 with a membership of 47. Since that time it has increased in membership and power. In September,

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1898, it numbered 1,003 members. Its constitution contains, among other excellent provisions, the following:

"The object shall be the consideration of all subjects tending to promote the welfare of the community;

To devise, consider, and recommend such legislative, municipal, and other measures as may seem wise and beneficial;

To aid and assist the proper authorities in carrying out all ordinances and laws for the comfort, safety, health, and prosperity of the community;

To plan and recommend the adoption of such measures as will tend to beautify this city and add to its attractiveness."

The Association committed itself to the following programme of progress, which it has vigorously carried out; viz., clean and wholesome streets; the encouragement of legitimate enterprises; the attraction of visitors and home-seekers; greater care in handling garbage; systematic sprinkling of the streets; removal of the cobble-stones wherever possible; securing the best pavements possible; adoption of the new charter; inauguration of Civil Service; to bond the city for improvements; and to hasten an improved sewer system.

On the failure of the people to adopt the charter in 1896, the Association suggested a plan of forming a charter association for the preliminary discussion of a new charter. This association elected a convention of one hundred citizens, who were to work for the preparation of a charter acceptable to the people; thus aiding the freeholders in their work, which had to be done in a brief space of time. Of the one hundred members of this committee fifty-one were Republicans, thirty-four Democrats, six Socialists, and seven Populists. A non-partisan service was thus secured.

Subsequently, in accordance with Section 8, Article XI of the Constitution of California, a board of sixteen freeholders was elected December 7, 1897, for the preparation of a new charter for the city and county of San Francisco, they being under the same government. This charter was completed and signed by the freeholders, March 25, 1898; and at a special election, called May 26, 1898, it received a majority of all the votes cast in the city. If approved by a majority of the members of each house of the legislature in January, 1899, it will become law on the Monday next succeeding January 1, 1900. It is hoped by all advocates of good government that this charter will form the foundation of a better administration, and will afford the opportunity of remedying many existing defects. If the charter fulfils only one-half of what it promises, the expense of more than $100,000 in the fifteen years' struggle for its establishment will not be regretted.

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The grievances of the people of San Francisco in the past may be summed up as follows: An excessive number of appointive officers, unduly augmenting the expenses of the government for salaries; weak and defective laws governing all forms of municipal services, inviting jobbery; charters and franchises granted to corporations in their own interests rather than in the interests of the people at large, resulting in excessive expenditures in the construction of public buildings and public works, caused by inefficiency and corruption; inefficient police service; inefficient and corrupt justices and police judges, and inefficient and corrupt municipal departments;—all of which have resulted in poor sanitation, inferior and defective streets, bad sewer systems, inadequate water-supply at abnormally high rates, excessive criminality, and the domination of the city by political bosses backed by two or three powerful corporations. These are the chief evils which the citizens of San Francisco hope to remedy by the new charter.

The general defects of the laws of San Francisco originated in the attempts to adapt to a metropolitan city of 350,000 a charter which was made for a town of 40,000 people, and in the fact that amendments extending over forty years had so confused matters that it was difficult to facilitate government. One of the difficulties arose from the circumstance that many of the offices were filled by the Governor of the State; thus confusing State and city politics, and subjecting the affairs of the city to the bad influences of the State machine. The only restriction placed on the Committee of One Hundred was that they should stand for three cardinal principles; viz., Home Rule, Civil Service, and economical government.

The sufferings of San Francisco during the past forty years, on account of imperfect municipal government, have been great. The Spring Valley Water Works Company has been notorious for its exactions and for its failures to serve the people. It has obtained rights controlling all the available water-supply throughout that part of the country, and has had a perfect monopoly of the water-supply of the city. Indeed, so arbitrary has been the procedure of the Company, that it has been seriously proposed to carry the water from Lake Tahoe, a distance of more than two hundred miles, in order to furnish an abundant and pure supply. The Company bought at a large expense what is known as the Calaveras tract. This has remained idle; and the people of San Francisco have been paying interest on the investment. It was purchased by the Spring Valley Water Company in order to cut off competition. The Company has gone on from year to year increasing its stock, and charging high

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rates for incompetent service. At last it is within the power of the Board of Supervisors to fix the rates. The operating expenses of the Company have been abnormally high; and yet it is estimated that 5 per cent would be a fair return. The Board was pledged to make it 5: but by some process it was made 6; and this 6 per cent is based upon a large amount of unproductive property held by the Company.

The Report of 1897 showed the following items: Maintenance, $388,364.27; interest, $33,905.42; coupons, $498,500; dividends, $778,000; taxes, $102,932.50. For 1898: Maintenance, $460,000; interest, $43,000; coupons, $498,500; dividends, $836,500; taxes, $105,000; making a total in 1897 of $1,801,704.19, as against $1,943,000 for 1898. It is estimated that stock to the value of $2,900,000 was sold in the two years; and the stock of 1897 amounted to $12,800,000, owned by about 1,200 stockholders, 900 of whom owned less than $100 worth.

In 1885 Boston had a population of 362,039; Chicago, 503,304; St. Louis, 333,577; Cincinnati, 255,707; Baltimore, 332,190; and San Francisco, 250,000. The operating expenses of the respective water-works of these cities were: Boston, $333,548; Chicago, $255,000; St. Louis, $253,629; Cincinnati, $207,000; and San Francisco, $379,000; showing the operating expenses of San Francisco to be larger than that of any other city. The collections were: Boston, $1,426,237; Chicago, $1,142,866; St. Louis, $660,280; Cincinnati, $553,500; Baltimore, $606,879; and San Francisco, $1,281,500.

But it is idle to follow out the history and statistics of this great company. They may be summed up as follows: Extravagant mismanagement, corporate greed, an inefficient and inadequate water-supply, and heavy public and individual expenses. The remedy now proposed, in order to make up the deficiency in the water-supply, is to use sea water for sprinkling the streets and flushing the sewers. The Olympia and Lurline baths of San Francisco pump their water from the ocean, which fact suggests that a large water-supply might be secured on the higher portions of the city, and held in reservoirs, for the flushing of sewers and the sprinkling of streets, as well as for all other purposes, except drinking, where a large amount of water is needed. This would remedy one of the greatest evils of San Francisco—imperfect sanitation.

The sewer system of San Francisco is a great subterranean patch-work, poorly laid, poorly constructed, and poorly planned. Patched up by jobbery, there are in it elevations and depressions which furnish opportunities for the collection of filth and gases. These could scarcely

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be removed even with proper flushing; but a large quantity of salt water poured through the sewers would, to a large extent, remedy the evil. Also, in conducting the sewage to the Bay the engineers seemed to have had a poor understanding of the action of tides and to have deposited the sewage in places where the currents of the Bay would scarcely carry it away. On the reversal of the tides, the sewer gas is forced up to every house and every sewer-opening in the heights of the city. Passing near a man-hole in the street after night, one is in danger of suffocation from the intolerable stench and the foul gases. In the long run it would be economy to tear up the whole system and reconstruct it. However, a careful survey throughout the entire route, the renovation and connection of certain parts, the deposit in the Bay at the right place, and copious flushing with sea water would give San Francisco a fairly good sewer system.

The improved pavements on some of the streets of recent date contrast markedly with the old cobble-stone and block system. When new streets are opened or improved the property-owners must pay for all improvements. The city being unable to vote bonds, city improvements have fallen heavily upon the taxpayers. While large sums of money have been spent yearly—$200,000 in 1895—on streets already accepted, comparatively little is shown for the enormous expenditure. Antiquated pavements and poor sidewalks are found on many of the business and residence streets, to the detriment of travel and the disgrace of the city. However, under the impulse of the Reform movement, Market Street is to be paved with asphaltum, and other decided improvements are to be made. With a sand foundation, good drainage, and no frost or snow, there is no reason why San Francisco should not have excellent streets at small cost. It seems quite incredible that, during the last forty years, more than $34,000,000 should have been spent on the streets and sewers of San Francisco with so few permanent improvements to show for the expenditure.

The lighting service is another grievance. Until recently the city was poorly lighted with inferior gas and at a high price; and these conditions have been removed only by the substitution of electric lights in a few of the main streets, as a result of the efforts of the Merchants' Association. By this means 228 electric lights were furnished at a cost of $15,000, but free of charge to the city, as an object-lesson to the people. The Association later presented a plan to the Supervisors for lighting the city at the public expense; and this was included in the city contract, August 1, 1898.

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The city has been maintaining 5,377 street lamps at a cost of $38.52 per lamp per year. For an inferior quality of gas private consumers have paid $1.75 per 1,000 feet. Buffalo pays $14.67 for street lamps, while private consumers pay $1 per 1,000 feet. There is a difference in the price of coal in the two cities; but the corporation statistics show that San Francisco has paid excessively high for the service. The gas-plant is not worth more than $5,000,000; but the company pays a dividend of 6 per cent on $10,000,000.

The citizens have complained of a poor police system. Recently, however, there has been considerable improvement; and to-day it is probably more efficient than any other department of the city service. There are still numerous complaints of the corruption of police judges and justices. The system appears to need overhauling; and, through Civil Service, or better attention on the part of the people to this important part of the city government, there should be placed in office conscientious men who will make their rulings on law and justice rather than according to the personal influence of strong friends or political bosses.

San Francisco makes a poor showing of public buildings. The City Hall, which has been under construction for nearly thirty years, is a monument of extravagance and mismanagement. It is wasteful in design and of poor construction. The original Act of 1870 called for a building to cost $1,500,000. To this sum has been added other appropriations, until the entire cost has exceeded $5,000,000. Undoubtedly, with good management, a better building could have been constructed at half this cost. The Hall of Justice is in progress of construction. It is badly needed, and should have been built long ago, but has been delayed because, it is said, the contractors have a "pull" with the Board of Supervisors. The citizens have cried out against the enormous taxation of the city and against the fact that the revenue does not secure permanent improvements. With practically no bonded indebtedness, the people may well inquire what becomes of a revenue of about $6,000,000 per annum. A city of 350,000 people ought to be well governed at a cost of two-thirds that amount.

A mere glance into the inside of city politics, as they have been run for years, will show that shocking things have been done, and that much of the extravagance and waste in the city expenditures is due to the "domination of corporations" and the rule of the "bosses,"—terms which have been household words among the honest, thinking population of San Francisco for many years.

These are some of the evils which the people hope to avoid through

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the new charter. As the charter itself is suggestive of an aroused political conscience, so the continuation of the demand of the people for a better government will avail much. While without a better means of government but little can be done, with an improved charter nothing good will be done without the eternal vigilance of the citizens. The cost of good government includes, among other things, the sacrifice of time and energy on the part of good citizens. Many of the evils that they seek to overcome are so deeply rooted in San Francisco that years must elapse, even under good government, before they can be finally eradicated.

Under the new charter the following officers are to be elected by the people: Mayor, auditor, treasurer, assessor, tax-collector, recorder, city attorney, district attorney, public administrator, county clerk, sheriff, four police judges, five justices of the peace, a superintendent of schools, and eighteen supervisors. Each of these is to be elected for two years, except the police judges and superintendent of schools, who are to be elected for four.

The Mayor is given considerable power in the appointment of boards and commissions. There are to be the following commissioners; viz., three of public works, four of police, four of the poor, five of health, five of parks, five of elections, and three of Civil Service, as well as four school directors. The term of each commissioner will be for three years, except in the case of the commissioners of public works and Civil Service, whose terms will be for four years.

Under the present constitution the appointive power has been largely in the hands of the Governor of the State, all vacancies in the police, health, park, and fire commissions being filled by him. The registrar of voters is also appointed by the Governor. It is an important fact in city government that, wherever local commissioners have been appointed by the Governor of the State, corruption has ensued. This is true of the police commissioners of Missouri, Kansas, and other States wherever the system has been tried. It brings a city into the line of State politics, although it has more municipal politics than it can manage.

The fee system is abolished, and officers are paid saleries fixed by the charter. Also the number of clerks and other appointees is limited in every respect, which has a tendency to reduce by many thousands of dollars the amount paid in salaries. Indeed, by the new charter, the salary-roll of the sheriff's office will be reduced $19,511, and that of the justices', $2,200; the annual salary-roll of the tax collector's office will be $22,456 less than at present, and that of the assessor's office, $18,327

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less. This will be a great saving to the city. It will also have a tendency toward more exactness in the city's expenditures. The tax burdens of the citizens of San Francisco have been very great. The city itself, as I have said, could not incur any bonded indebtedness; and the burdens of public improvements and of expensive government have been visited upon the present generation. It is fixed in the charter that the annual tax-levy shall not exceed $1 on $100 of taxable property, exclusive of the State tax, the tax for the maintenance of the sinking-funds, and the tax for the improvement of the public parks.

It is also provided that not more than one-twelfth of the appropriations for any single department shall be expended in any one month, and that each item of expenditure shall be for the purpose only for which the appropriation is designated. These rules, if carried out, will save the misappropriation of funds, and will remove a tendency to deficiency. It is expressly stated that no liability shall be incurred in one month exceeding one-twelfth of the amount paid into the specific fund for the fiscal year against which that debt is incurred, and that no liability during any year shall exceed the revenue of that year. It is also provided that bonds of the city and county for necessary and permanent public improvements may, by a vote of the people, be issued in accordance with the constitution of the State.

A municipal indebtedness Act of 1889, amended 1891 and 1893, was passed in pursuance of Article XI, Section 18 of the Constitution of California, which allowed the cities to incur indebtedness with the consent of two-thirds of the qualified electors. This makes it possible at the present time for the city of San Francisco legally to issue municipal bonds for permanent public improvements. For this purpose a vote of two-thirds of the Board of Supervisors and the consent of the Mayor are necessary to call an election; and the support of two-thirds of the voters of the city is requisite for the issue of bonds.

One of the important provisions in the new constitution concerns the question of franchises and privileges. It first states that all franchises and privileges which are not in actual use within six months after the charter takes effect will be forfeited, and that no exclusive franchises will be given for laying pipes, wires, or conduits. All franchises for street-railways and for light and power may be granted by the Supervisors for a term not to exceed twenty-five years. After publication for at least ten days, these franchises are to be sold to the highest bidder; and, as a safeguard, it is specifically stated in the charter that the holder must pay to the city 3 per cent of the gross proceeds during the first

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five years of the franchise, 4 per cent during the next ten years, and 5 per cent during the last ten years of the franchise. As a further safeguard, it requires three-fourths of the Board of Supervisors to grant all franchises. In case of the veto of the Mayor, it takes five-sixths of the members of the Board, or fifteen of the eighteen Supervisors, to pass upon it. It is further provided that franchises must be continuously operated for the full term, and that in the case of street-railways, at the close of the franchise, the road, track, and bed become the property of the city; or, if the city so desire, it may at its option lease the road.

Article XII of the charter is very important in regard to public ownership. It provides that in one year after the charter goes into effect, and every two years thereafter, the Supervisors must obtain, through the City Engineer, estimates of the actual value of all public utilities—such as water, gas and electric lights, steam, water, and electric power-works, street-railways, and telephone lines—for submission to the people at the next election, to decide as to the municipal ownership of the same. Nor is it necessary to await action by the Supervisors in this respect; for, upon petition of 15 per cent of the electors, the Board of Supervisors must submit to the people at a special election a proposal for the acquisition of any public utility desired. The Mayor may at the same time submit a similar proposition. The Supervisors may enter into negotiations for the acquisition—either by purchase, or construction and condemnation by the city and county—of any of the public utilities mentioned above, and may submit the negotiations to the vote of the people. When public utilities are owned by the people they are under the control of the Board of Public Works.

One of the important attempts at better city government in the new charter is recorded in Article XIII, on Civil Service. A Civil Service commission, composed of three persons holding office for three years, is appointed by the Governor. Not more than one member may be chosen from the same political party. The annual salary of each commissioner is $1,200. They appoint a chief examiner of the board, who draws a salary of $2,400. Examinations are to be practical tests of physical and intellectual ability for positions requiring skill and power, with the exception of day-laborers, who are registered and employed according to the order of their registration. All examinations are free and open to all citizens of the United States, with no questions relative to politics or religion. The rules of the Civil Service are very specific. Promotions will be made according to merit and term of service. No employee of the city shall be discharged, except for dishonesty, inefficiency, insub-

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ordination, or habitual discourtesy. Salaries of public offices must be fixed at rates no higher than those paid for similar services in similar employments. Sex will be no bar to a suitable office. No person can be appointed to, or dismissed from, an office for political reasons; nor can he or she be removed without a fair public trial. Particular care is to be taken to have the examinations conducted fairly, and without favoritism.

No doubt, when this law goes into effect, a great improvement in city government will be made possible. It will tend to secure persons especially adapted to the various places requiring skill in service. Whatever methods are devised for the improvement of municipal affairs, Civil Service has become one of the essentials of our modern system of government. To insure its success it must be carried out justly and thoroughly. This may take quite a long time; but it will win in the long run. The growth and efficiency of the Civil Service in the Federal Government, and its introduction into some of our large cities, indicate its efficiency in providing means for a just and economical government of the people. Its long and successful use in some of the prominent cities of the Old World is a guarantee of its efficiency in perfecting systems of city administration. Let us hope that it will rapidly advance in favor until every department of Federal, State, and municipal government in the United States shall be conducted on business principles by persons selected for merit and for an especial fitness for the places that they are to fill.

The article in the charter providing for the public ownership of utilities is greatly favored by having the strong support of an excellent Civil Service law and by generous provisions for a Board of Public Works. Article VI is composed of four chapters devoted to the constitution, powers, and duties of the Board. All duties and powers of the Board are here described in the minutest detail; and there seems to be nothing wanting to the success of this department except a carefully chosen board of experts to carry out the law. While the Board are subjected to the ordinances of the Supervisors, they have large powers in carrying out the details of government. They have charge of the streets, sewers, wires, conduits, and public buildings. The cleaning and sprinkling of the streets, the lighting of the same and of the parks, boulevards, and public squares also fall to their lot, as well as the cleaning, repair, and construction of buildings. They have charge

"of any and all public utilities owned, controlled, and operated by the City and County, or which may be hereafter so owned, controlled, or operated."

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Special attention is given to the opening and widening of streets and the construction of sewers. In fact, all of the details for the care of all public enterprises are presented so accurately as to afford opportunity for unity of plan and thoroughness of execution.

There are many other excellent provisions of the charter in every one of its many sections. Notable among them are those relating to the departments of public health, public schools and libraries, taxation and finance, and the park commission,—all prepared with great care in respect to every interest of the city.

Such are a few of the provisions of the new charter by means of which the people of San Francisco hope to remove the defects of municipal government. As one reads this complete document, from which nothing of value seems to have been omitted, he cannot fail to be impressed with the thought that the citizens have made for themselves an excellent opportunity for good government. With the continued education of the people in regard to the precepts of good government, the advantages of the same, and the evil conditions arising from bad government, and with the vigilance of all good citizens, this instrument will be a monument to its founders and a reward to the earnest workers from whose efforts it has resulted. For it certainly will bring an era of prosperity to San Francisco.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR.

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THE RACE WAR IN NORTH CAROLINA.

FROM the cold and judicial standpoint of the North, where local environments offer no parallel, the recent tragic revolution in North Carolina was wanton, murderous, and cruel; while, from the Southern point of view, it was not only justifiable, but praiseworthy. Somewhere between these extremes there must be a neutral plane from which the bloody episode can be impartially and dispassionately discussed, with mingled justification and criticism: there must be some unprejudiced, yet observant, chronicler, whose word will be accepted—not as the final one, perhaps, but still as a more or less accurate and important contribution to the working out of a serious problem. In such spirit, at least, I offer this article. Born in the North, of Northern parents, yet residing long enough on the edge of the South to appreciate Southern conditions and not to judge too hastily the Southern people; trained by long years of journalistic experience to observe and to write with careful judgment; and enjoying in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the national capital a fortunate freedom from the native, unmitigated prejudices of all sections, it is possible that I may be able justly to depict a situation which has attracted the attention of the entire country and which demands the most thoughtful consideration.

When I first entered North Carolina, having been directed to institute an impartial investigation, I had a most imperfect and general understanding of the existing conditions. To be entirely frank, my first glance at the fiery and excited writings of the newspaper editors, together with the passionate exclamations in a series of resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of white men in Goldsboro, held within a short time after my arrival, led me to regard the movement for white supremacy as hysterical. I interviewed Gov. Russell, the first Republican governor elected in North Carolina during a quarter of a century; and he assured me that the reign of terror which existed had its origin in political malice. Consequently, if my mind had any bent, when I finally reached Wilmington in the latter part of October, it was one of opposition to the methods which seemed to have been adopted to sup-

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press the Negro vote; and I was disposed to deprecate the inflammatory state of public feeling.

In Wilmington I found a very remarkable condition of affairs. The city might have been preparing for a siege instead of an election. A new rapid-fire gun had been placed in the local armory; nearly two thousand Winchester rifles had been purchased by private citizens; and scarcely a man in the entire city retired at night without a weapon of some kind—rifle, shot-gun, or revolver—by his bedside. The city was officered as if threatened by a foe. Each ward had been divided into blocks; the former in command of a captain, the latter under lieutenants, with a general over all. The lieutenants met their captains almost nightly; and at one of these meetings I had an opportunity to observe that they were earnest, dignified, sober men, heads of families, and owners of property, engaged in the best mercantile and professional pursuits. All shades of political belief were represented. Some of the citizens had voted for Mr. McKinley, and others for Mr. Bryan; some were Gold and some were Silver Democrats; some favored Protection, and others advocated Free Trade: but in the presence of what they believed to be an overwhelming crisis, they brushed aside the great principles that divide parties and individuals, and stood together as one man. Their language indicated the intensity of the situation, as they viewed it.

Each lieutenant, when called upon for a report, announced the number of able-bodied men in his block willing to bear arms; while the aggregate number of rifles, shot-guns, and revolvers was also made known. The numbers of women, children, and sick men requiring protection were also given; and the data thus presented were carefully noted down. When I emphasize the fact, that every block in every ward was thus organized, and that the precautionary meetings were attended by ministers, lawyers, doctors, merchants, railroad officials, cotton exporters, and, indeed, by the reputable, taxpaying, substantial men of the city, the extent and significance of this armed movement can, perhaps, be realized. It was not the wild and freakish organization of irresponsible men, but the deliberate action of determined citizens.

This condition of affairs naturally excited curiosity, and demanded careful inquiry as to its cause. One could not help wondering why armed men should thus meet nightly in their pleasant and peaceful homes in an American city. Military preparations, so extensive as to suggest assault from some foreign foe, must have had unusual inspiration and definite purpose. Seeking information, I consulted with a number of citizens whose names had been furnished by the Governor

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himself, and whose position in the community, as I soon learned, entitled their assertions to the highest consideration. They included bank presidents, cotton exporters, prominent railroad officials, and others of equally substantial position. When I asked an explanation of the situation, the answer was given in four words, "The whites must rule."

The fiat had gone forth; and it was expected that the Negroes, when they learned that the right of suffrage was to be denied them, would resist. From their churches and from their lodges had come reports of incendiary speeches, of impassioned appeals to the blacks to use the bullet that had no respect for color, and the kerosene and torch that would play havoc with the white man's cotton in bale and warehouse. It was this fear of the Negro uprising in defence of his electorate—of a forcible and revengeful retaliation—that offered an ostensible ground for the general display of arms; but if the truth be told, the reason thus offered was little more than a fortunate excuse. The whites had determined to regain their supremacy; and the wholesale armament was intended to convey to the blacks an earnest of this decision. There would have been rapid-fire guns and Winchester rifles if every church had held a silent pulpit, and every lodge-room where the Negroes met had been empty.

White supremacy, therefore, was the magnet that attracted, the tie that bound, the one overwhelming force that dominated everything. To fully appreciate this issue a backward glance is necessary. Wilmington is one of the oldest towns in the United States. Located in the heart of a fertile region, it has prospered. The Cape Fear River affords an easy outlet to the sea. From its wharves cotton is loaded into steamers, each carrying ten to fifteen thousand bales; while the proximity of pine-forests has long made it a famous port for shipping turpentine and rosin. Its broad streets are lined with excellent business structures; and it has all the conveniences and improvements of a modern city. Its social life is proverbially excellent.

With all these material advantages, it has the misfortune—and it is a misfortune—to possess a population of which a large majority are Negroes. Of the 25,000 people in the city three-fifths are blacks. While thus numerically strong, the Negro is not a factor in the development of the city or section. With thirty years of freedom behind him and with an absolute equality of educational advantages with the whites, there is not to-day in Wilmington a single Negro savings bank or any other distinctively Negro educational or charitable institution; while the race has not produced a physician or lawyer of note. In other

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words, the Negro in Wilmington has progressed in very slight degree from the time when he was a slave. His condition can be summed up in a line. Of the taxes in the city of Wilmington and the county of New Hanover the whites pay 96⅔ per cent; while the Negroes pay the remainder—3⅓ per cent. The Negro in North Carolina, as these figures show, is thriftless, improvident, does not accumulate money, and is not accounted a desirable citizen.

Notwithstanding this, at the ballot-box all men are supposed to be equal; and so the Negroes, if they voted, would rule by mere power of numbers. Until a few years ago their preponderance in local government was neutralized by gerrymandering the bulk of the Negro population into two wards; while to a Democratic legislature was entrusted the task of selecting local magistrates. By these methods a white Board of Aldermen was always secured; and the magistrates were reputable and competent men. Four years ago, however, the white men of the State divided. The Populists, who had many grievances, combined with the Republicans and the 110,000 Negro voters to overthrow the Democratic administration and thus to secure desired reforms. Their efforts were successful, placing the Democrats in a minority. Two years ago the combination won by a majority of 40,000, and, feeling secure against overthrow, began to enact the laws which are primarily responsible for the race war in North Carolina. One of these statutes practically deprived the white citizens of Wilmington of their suffrage by authorizing the Republican governor to appoint five of the ten members composing the Board of Aldermen; the other five to be elected by the five wards, in two of which there were overwhelming Negro majorities. In addition to this, the appointment of magistrates was taken from the legislature, and they were elected by popular vote.

The result of all this can be easily imagined. There were soon thirty-six Negro magistrates, each with power to fine and imprison for all misdemeanors not requiring the cognizance of a jury; there were forty Negro policemen, appointed by the mayor and chief of police chosen by the Negro aldermen; a Negro register of deeds, Negro deputy sheriffs and other Negro subordinate officials in large numbers. My informants asserted that, as a general rule, these Negro officers were ignorant, incapable, and a travesty upon good administration. One of the magistrates, for instance, was a stevedore, elected by the votes of his fellows, and who, when the British vice-consul at Wilmington defended some British sailors before him, announced contemptuously that "De King of England ain't got nothin' to do wid dis co't."

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The illiterate deputy sheriffs, unable to write or even read the names upon the warrants given them for execution, were hoodwinked on every corner by persons subject to arrest. The Chief of Police, with his Negro staff, allowed the residents to be assaulted and robbed. Burglaries were of nightly occurrence during the summer months, while the wealthier citizens were at the seashore; and when the householders occasionally caught the midnight thieves, the latter were acquitted by the sympathetic Negro magistrates. In the meantime, the Negroes, who had proved docile and peaceable when under control, appreciated their newly acquired power, and grew insolent and bold. Women were assaulted on the streets; and a Negro editor published an editorial, defaming the virtue of the poor white women of the South. This fanned the flame of Anglo-Saxon resentment to white heat. The evils of maladministration were bad enough: property was not safe; and foreign capitalists, who came to invest, left with their money in their pockets. But this material side of the situation, while it disturbed and paralyzed business interests, did not sting the white blood so savagely as the outspoken contempt of the Negro editor for the white woman's purity.

Ordinarily, social revolutions in the United States are accomplished through the medium of a change in political parties. In Wilmington politics played a most subordinate part. The first definite movement toward the overthrow of Negro rule was taken by the Chamber of Commerce, a non-partisan organization, which adopted resolutions declaring that the situation was a menace to peace and order, and calling upon "every good citizen to exert his utmost influence and personal effort to effect results which will restore order, protect property, and give security to our lives and homes." The president of the Chamber of Commerce—a New Englander and a Republican—promptly signed this declaration; and every firm connected with the organization attached its signature with equal alacrity. With this substantial inauguration the movement for white supremacy progressed rapidly. Party divisions disappeared; and the color-line was the plain, recognized, and openly acknowledged issue. Even the Republican postmaster of Wilmington, a Northern man who had never voted the Democratic ticket in his life, recognized this fact. "I had thought at first," he wrote to United States Senator Pritchard, "that it was the usual political cry and a fight for office; but I am now convinced that the feeling is much deeper than this, as it pervades the whole community, and there seems to be a settled determination on the part of the property owners, business men, and taxpayers to administer the city and county government."

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To illustrate how far removed politics was from the situation, let me say that when it became necessary, in the hope of securing a peaceful settlement, for the regular Democratic candidates for the legislature to withdraw and be succeeded by two gentlemen named by the business men, they acquiesced without delay or protest. It was through this compromise, suggested by the Governor, that the white Republicans and the Negroes failed to nominate a local ticket. When this had been arranged and all incentive for the Negro to vote had been removed, it was hoped and believed that the revolution would be achieved without bloodshed. There was still, however, no disguising of the white men's intentions. They believed that if they paid, as they did, 97 per cent of the taxes, and if they alone had demonstrated their capacity for developing and governing the city, they alone should rule; and this point they were prepared to establish at any cost.

The truce thus declared lasted throughout Election Day. The polls opened and closed without disturbance. By nightfall it was known that the white men had swept the State; electing a legislature certain, in due time, to repeal objectionable laws and to provide for a constitutional amendment which would prevent the recurrence of Negro rule. The white citizens of Wilmington, who for nearly two years had endured an intolerable condition of affairs with admirable patience, declined to await the slow progress of reform. Flushed with victory, they hastened to emphasize their return to power. While this undue celerity is open to question, one cannot but admire the candor of their action. They resorted to no secrecy or mask. What they did was done in broad daylight; and the entire proceeding suggested the stateliness of a Greek tragedy.

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon nearly one thousand citizens of Wilmington assembled in mass meeting. Clergymen, physicians, lawyers, merchants, clerks, mechanics, and laboring-men were present. Col. Alfred Moore Waddell—one of whose ancestors defied the British stamp collector in 1766, and participated in the conference which led to the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence—was selected as chairman. A series of resolutions was adopted, declaring that the Negro domination had forever passed and that, in the future, the white man, and the white man alone, should rule. The citizens went further. They decreed, but still without excitement or revengeful speech, that the Negro editor who had published the defamatory article against white women should immediately depart, that his paper should cease publication, and that his plant should be shipped away. A committee of twenty-five

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was appointed, with Col. Waddell at its head, to enforce the resolutions; and thirty-two of the more prominent Negroes of the city were summoned to meet the committee. Nearly all came in response to the summons. The scene was dramatic. Seated at one end of the room were the twenty-five white men: at the other end sat the thirty-two Negroes. The whites were anxious, but determined; the Negroes, cowed and terror-stricken. The resolutions were read and, in answer to a query from one of the blacks as to the meaning of a phrase, reread. There was no discussion, no argument. The whites delivered their ultimatum, gave the Negroes until the following morning to make answer, and declared the meeting adjourned. The whites and blacks then passed silently out into the night.

On that night, as on the night before, the streets were guarded by white citizens; but there was no outbreak. In momentary fear of the fire alarm, men slept in their clothes and with their weapons beside them. On the following morning the streets presented the strange spectacle of men ordinarily engaged in the quiet walks of life, proceeding to their places of business with rifles on their shoulders. At eight o'clock they assembled in the public hall, to await the answer of the Negroes. None came. By a strange error, the messenger to whom it had been entrusted placed it in a letter-box—where it remained until the next day—instead of carrying it direct to Col. Waddell's house, as he had been instructed by his Negro brethren. There being no answer, therefore, seventy-five men were called for and five hundred swung into line. The morning papers had prominently published in capital letters the names of the citizens, numbering 457, signing the resolutions of the previous day, so that there was no concealment, no lack of identification. The procession moved out of the hall in column of fours. An eye-witness writes:

"Under thorough discipline and under command of officers, capitalists and laborers marched together: the lawyer and his client were side by side. Men of large business interests kept step with clerks. It was not a mob. It was a gathering of white men who were determined to teach a lesson—a lesson which should be practical, and contain no element of doubt. The work, when the fated building which held the printing-press was reached, was quickly done. Nothing that looked like any part of a printer's establishment was permitted to escape demolition. When this work had been accomplished, the building was found to be on fire. One of the men who was there to destroy the printing-press turned in an alarm. The engines came thundering to the scene, the firemen laid their hose, and commenced the work of salvation. No attempt was made to hinder their work; but no help was rendered. Men looked on with grim faces; possibly exulting, but not boisterous. It was no holiday, no light comedy performance to be carried on amid merriment and laughter; but every man seemed impressed with the responsibility

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of his self-imposed duty. Other buildings caught fire; but men with guns in their hands climbed upon the roofs and extinguished the igniting shingles. There was no desire to injure property not concerned in the deed for which the punishment was inflicted. The children of a neighboring school became almost hysterical through fear; and their principal was told that they were free to go home or stay, that no harm could or should come to them. An old Negro woman, excited by the scene, stood upon the sidewalk and with all the religious fervor of her race, invoked the wrath of Heaven. She was watched with silent amusement; and as the flames succumbed to the floods of water, the order to return was given and each man went to his home."

This was the first chapter of the tragedy. The second was enacted an hour or so later, when some Negroes fired upon a small group of white men at a point fully a mile distant from the printing-office. The fire was returned; three negroes being killed, and three wounded. As one of the uninjured Negroes moved away, he levelled a Winchester, according to the statement of eye-witnesses, at a white man standing upon the threshold of a house, fired, and dangerously wounded him. The Negro ran into a house, but was pursued, dragged out, and riddled with bullets. Desultory firing, with more or less fatal results, followed in various parts of the city; and in the afternoon the local military took possession of the disturbed district. Additional forces of militia were summoned from surrounding towns. At night the Mayor was forced to resign, and the Chief of Police, who had remained in the city hall during the trouble, was also displaced; white men, selected by the citizens in mass meeting, taking their places. Thousands of Negroes, terror-stricken, fled to the woods and swamps; and white men who had become objectionable, because of their affiliations with the Negroes, were escorted out of the city by armed processions.

Events moved rapidly. The new Mayor, Col. Waddell, and the new Board of Aldermen—the former members having resigned—issued a proclamation, commanded order to be restored, interfered to prevent threatened lynching, sent squads of men to protect trembling laborers to their homes, and organized committees to go out into the woods and assure the fleeing Negroes that they could return without harm. New police officers were sworn in. The old administration could secure only fifteen men to serve on Election Day with pay; the new administration swore in three hundred citizens without delay and with services free. On the next day the request that all citizens leave their arms at home and resume their former avocations was complied with. The bloody drama was over.

It is easy to understand that, while the events which led up to this tragic *dénoûment* were in progress in Wilmington, the situation through-

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out North Carolina was almost equally intense. The conditions which prevailed in Wilmington existed throughout the entire eastern section of the State, and were especially unbearable in the six or seven counties which comprised the "black belt." In one of these counties, Craven, in which the shipping port of Newbern, with 12,000 inhabitants, is situated, the Negroes filled sixty-six of the local offices; the State senator was a Negro who had thrice been convicted of forgery; and the candidate for county treasurer, the Negro keeper of a bar-room. In all of the counties where the Negroes were in a majority, Negroes had secured positions on the school committees, although, as I was informed, notoriously unfitted for such offices. Young white girls, many of whom taught school as the only means of raising enough money to insure them a college education, were compelled to apply to these Negro committeemen for appointment; and their dependent position was emphasized by the necessity of visiting the Negroes monthly in order to have their warrants properly certified.

The character of the men selected thus to supervise the educational system can best be illustrated by the statement that, under the law of North Carolina, committeemen, when unable to write their own names, are authorized to affix their marks to warrants and other documents. The repugnance which these white girls experience in thus being compelled to seek favors at the hands of Negro committeemen may not be appreciated by the whites in the North and may seem to be without adequate foundation; but apart from this purely racial sentiment, there is no doubt that in many cases the antipathy was increased by the utter contempt which education feels for ignorance, the inspections and examinations conducted by the Negro committeemen being farcical in the extreme. In addition to this, the irritations of Negro control were illustrated in other directions. From a statement recently made by Senator McLaurin, of South Carolina, some interesting figures are taken. In discussing the character of the Negro municipal office-holders, he says:

"Take the city of Greenville, North Carolina, for example, where the taxable property aggregates three-quarters of a million dollars in value. The Board of Aldermen levies the taxes and orders the expenditures. One of the Negro aldermen pays 84 cents in taxes; another, 63 cents; the other two pay nothing. The total taxes paid by the Negro aldermen is $1.47. The mayor, a white man elected by Negro votes, pays 43 cents in taxes; the policeman none, the night watchmen none, the chief of police 25 cents. The revenues of this town amount to $5,500 per annum, of which $2,830 goes to pay the salaries of the non-taxpaying Negro office-holders."

Whether or not this condition justified the white men in refusing to

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submit to a continuance of Negro rule is a question which will, without doubt, be variously answered in different sections of the United States; but the fact remains that in North Carolina it was decided in the negative. This decision could not be enforced, however, except by disfranchising the Negro, to secure which result two methods only seemed to present themselves; viz., (1) the Negro must either be frightened away from the polls, or else (2) he must be forcibly resisted when he undertook to deposit his ballot. The first method offered the least objection and promised the minimum amount of open disturbance; and in many of the counties in the "black belt," therefore, the picturesque "Red Shirt" brigades were organized for the acknowledged purpose of terrorizing the Negroes. At one of the Red Shirt rallies, which I attended, at Laurinburg, near the South Carolina line, there were a thousand men on horseback, all wearing the lurid and significant garment. For ten miles through pine-forest and cotton plantation these men rode, singling out the Negro hamlets as the especial object of their visitation; while in the afternoon they listened to an impassioned address in which they were advised to win the election—peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must. The orator described the methods which prevailed in his own county of Halifax for neutralizing the Negro rule. "When a Negro constable comes with a warrant for a white man in his hands," said the speaker, "he leaves with a bullet in his brains." This declaration was loudly applauded. The Red Shirters, as they were called, were the picturesque adjuncts of the remarkable campaign; but they were not border ruffians, as someone characterized them. They were farmers, bankers, school-teachers, merchants,—in fact, the element in a community which stands highest in the social and commercial scale.

While in Wilmington the white supremacy movement had its inspiration and encouragement almost entirely in the desire of the business and taxpaying interests to be rid of the evils of bad government, there is no question that the issue in the central and western portions of the State, where the Negroes did not predominate, was purely political. It must be remembered, of course, that unless the Fusion legislature was voted out of power, the repeal of obnoxious laws was impossible; and to secure the overthrow of such a legislature the coöperation of all the whites in the State was absolutely necessary. Even with this fact, however, the politicians who had no personal concern in the solution of the problem were keen enough to see that white supremacy meant Democratic supremacy; and they labored for both *con amore*.

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The result was that in all sections of North Carolina, from the mountainous border of the west to the sand-dunes on the Atlantic shore, the doctrine of antagonism to the Negro was preached from every stump, and reiterated in the columns of every newspaper. The most rabid and inflammatory editorials appeared; the local poets trimmed their wings to flights of exalted rhetoric, and declared in burning rhyme that "The whites must rule the land or die"; the ordinary news of the day was crowded out to afford room for daily repetitions of the Negro editor's defamatory article and such extracts from Republican speeches as might tend to heat still further the Southern blood. The Negro himself was pilloried as the quintessence of all that was brutal and dangerous. Especial prominence was given to items, the purport of which is evidenced in the following headlines, all of which are taken from a single issue of a Raleigh daily:

"Estimable Lady Grossly Assaulted by a Black Negro!"

"An Impertinent Negro Puts in His Lip and Narrowly Escapes Being Roughly Handled!"

"Black Scoundrel Assaults a White Man!"

"Negro Youths Assault and Rob a Venerable and Highly Esteemed Citizen on a Principal Street!"

"Insolent Negroes Parade, Arm Themselves, and March through the Streets of Wilmington!"

In addition to this, the most violent communications found ready *entrée* into the columns of the daily press throughout the State; and whether it was the bloodthirsty correspondent who appealed for an immediate lynching, or "a farmer's wife" who urged the white voter to save her sex from outrage, the effect was the same. From the pulpits the doctrine of white supremacy was preached in the same breath with the story of Christ's love. The oratory from the stump was lava-like. Men accounted in their communities as conservative boldly advocated violent measures. One candidate for State Senator advised a mass meeting of white citizens to "win the election, peaceably if possible, but win it in any way you can." Another orator—a former judge—described with evident gusto how five hundred of his fellow-citizens in a county had waited upon a Republican orator and driven him off because of his "slanderous expressions" in advising Negroes to put their arms around white girls; a third declared that the Negro editor in

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Wilmington ought to be food for catfish in Cape Fear River; and still another countenanced the assassination of the Governor who had brought Negro rule upon the State. Stimulated by such angry flood, the passions of the people grew more intense; and at the end of the campaign nothing except the most fiery utterances satisfied the excited crowds. In Wilmington, on the night before election, the greatest applause at a public meeting was bestowed upon a citizen who coolly laid his six-barrelled revolver upon the chairman's table and boldly announced his intention of using it in the furtherance of the "white man's cause."

What were the Negroes doing all this time? Some of them were undoubtedly sullen and resentful; but the great mass of them were in a state of terror amounting almost to distress. At the first sign of actual hostility their white leaders deserted them; and in the face of murderous antagonism they would willingly have bartered their right of suffrage for a glimpse of the white flag of peace. An affidavit of a railroad employee attests the fact that the actual outbreak in Wilmington was precipitated by a Negro; but all testimony agrees that there was nothing like a general uprising. On the contrary, as soon as the first shot was fired the Negroes fled by thousands to the woods, where their pitiable condition excited the sympathy of the whites. I quote from a local newspaper:—

"The most distressful circumstance in connection with the riot, so far as the Negroes are concerned, resulted from the panic among these people. Women and children and men fled to the woods by thousands on Thursday and Friday. The roads were lined with them, some carrying their bedding on their heads and whatever effects could be carried. It was pitiable to see the children hurrying in fright after their parents. People who come into the city from the country report that these terror-stricken Negroes slept in the woods Thursday and Friday nights. They huddled around without any protection overhead and many had nothing but the ground to sleep upon. Many fled without taking a quilt or blanket, so that most of them had no covering. Although the weather is yet mild, it is sufficiently cool, however, to cause suffering, and this, added to the fact that they had little or nothing to eat, made their condition pitiable. In their hunger and distress, the people in the country assisted them as much as they could. They tried to induce the refugees to come back to the city, but they would not hear of it. The most alarming reports went out to them about the slaughter of Negroes in the city, and in fact, the telegraph carried out the most wildly exaggerated messages. Some of the Negroes are coming back to the city, and report their experience as awful."

Having thus sketched, in broad lines, the inception of the race war in North Carolina, as well as the conflict in which it culminated, it would be interesting, as well as profitable, to consider the verdict which ought to be rendered upon the facts. This, however, is not the purpose of the present article. The academic discussion of the Negro problem

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opens too wide a field to be entered upon here. Nevertheless, I desire to call attention to the fact, which does not seem to have been anywhere noted, that the political effect of the campaign, from a national point of view, might have been extremely curious. Under the pressure exerted by the white leaders, the Republican and Populist forces were disintegrated in every section of the State, while in the "black belt" the Negroes did not dare to vote; so that an almost solid Democratic delegation was elected from the State to Congress. In the Wilmington district a Republican majority of 5,000 in 1896 gave place to a Democratic majority of 6,000,—a gain for the Democrats of 11,000 votes. No one for a moment supposes that this was the result of a free and untrammelled ballot; and a Democratic victory here, as in other parts of the State, was largely the result of the suppression of the Negro vote. Notwithstanding this, there were several days after the recent election, while the control of the National House of Representatives hung in the balance, when it seemed as if that control might depend upon the seven Democratic Congressmen elected in North Carolina. Had this proved to be the case, the situation would have been most anomalous. We would have seen the House organized by a Democratic majority,—for members are seated on *prima facie* returns,—when its moral right, if not legal authority, was open to serious question. Happily this spectacle has been avoided; but it is a warning to thoughtful people of the serious problems which the future may offer. The situation demands the wisest statesmanship, with certain factors already laid down.

No one who has witnessed the condition of affairs in the South can believe that the Negro is, at the present time, capable of governing. All his efforts in this direction have been lamentable, direful failures. On the other hand, no one acquainted with the spirit and temper of the Southern people believes that the Negro, whatever his future capacity may be, will be allowed to govern the white race. These two assertions—that the Negro cannot govern, and that the white man will not let him govern—are axioms. While the Negro continues shiftless, ignorant, superstitious, and incompetent, there is a justification for the refusal to give him absolute control over invested capital, commercial interests, and municipal matters. At the same time, the casting and the counting of his ballot are his constitutional rights; and so long as these are denied him, there is a confession that our vaunted scheme of universal suffrage is a failure and a farce. They will be denied him, however, even at the muzzle of the rifle; and as long as he threatens to exercise his rights, just so long will the South remain solid.

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At this point the question broadens from local interest into national significance; because when the possibility of Negro domination has been removed from the South, that section will express its free thought on national questions. There will then be disintegration in what is now a compact and defensive mass. The South is Democratic because it would escape Negro rule in local offices, and Negroes in collectorships, postmasterships, and other Federal positions; and thus the South votes for the free coinage of silver as it would vote for unlimited greenbacks, Government ownership of railroads, or anything else that the Democratic party might countenance in its platform. Eliminate the all-powerful reason for solidity, and Gold and Silver, Protection and Free Trade, Anti-Expansion and Colonial Acquisition will be the penetrating wedges. How is this much-desired consummation to be attained? Shall the suffrage of the Negro be restricted by educational or property tests, and the South be granted representation in Congress and the Electoral College on the basis of the vote actually cast? Or shall we look to the Negro to work out his own salvation? In the latter event, he has a long and thorny road to tread, in comparison with which the way that Bunyan's pilgrim travelled was a path of roses.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

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ARE THE GERMANS STILL A NATION OF THINKERS?

It is a well-known fact that Bulwer, in an extremely amiable manner, dedicated his novel "Ernest Maltravers" to "the great German people, a nation of thinkers and of critics." Here, probably, we have the principal source of a designation which has now become general. The idea, however, goes back much further. Probably nothing has done more to spread among the Western nations the conception of the Germans as a people of pronounced literary and philosophical tendencies than Madame de Staël's book "De l'Allemagne."

In the early years of this century Madame de Staël travelled through Germany. She associated with prominent persons, and remained for some time in Weimar and Berlin. Her impressions of Germany, *i.e.*, Germany as it existed before the Battle of Jena (1806), were recorded in the aforesaid work, which, owing partly to the keenness of insight and the wealth of ideas which characterized it, and partly to the bitter hatred and relentless persecution of Napoleon I, soon excited widespread attention. In this book Germany and the Northern lands bordering upon it are called the "country of thought." The Germans are described as a people distinguished by reflection and meditation, and anxious to comprehend all things. They are great in abstract studies, and may be not inaptly termed the metaphysical nation *par excellence*. They regard literature as of paramount importance, and literary production as the highest form of activity. They are admirable in the strength of their inner convictions and in the patience and power of endurance displayed in carrying those convictions into effect. They take deeper interest in ideas than in events. Their universality of thought enables them to feel at home among all peoples of all periods. At the same time, their literature and philosophy reveal a wealth of individuality unequalled by any other people of modern times. With such achievements, they stand at the head of the intellectual life of Europe.

But these advantages, according to Madame de Staël, are accompanied by serious defects. The Germans lack the energy requisite for action: in the domain of practical life they are utterly without that universality which characterizes their literary productions. Here they

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appear unskilful, small, slow, and inert; everywhere they encounter difficulties; and nowhere else do we so frequently hear the expression "It is impossible." Owing to their faculty of assimilating what is foreign, and to their unremitting association with abstract ideas, they are in danger of remaining strangers to the spirit of the century and of losing sight of the present and the actual,—a domain of which the French have, in consequence, possessed themselves. They lack that practical training in life by which the character becomes steeled and fortified for a vigorous resistance against attacks from without. Thus, Jean Paul Richter, one of their greatest writers, justly says that "the empire of the sea belongs to the English, that of the land to the French, and that of the air to the Germans."

Despite the recognition of such defects, however, Madame de Staël is firm in her appreciation of the German people. To her they are admirable by reason of their indefatigable activity in behalf of the intellectual development of humanity, and because of their valuable contributions to the enrichment and deepening of life.

Such is the picture of the Germans as revealed at the beginning of this century. How great the change effected since then! For now, at the close of the nineteenth century, the Germans appear particularly great, by reason of their military organization, the energy and skill displayed in their work, and their restless advance upon the technical, industrial, and mercantile domains. The Germans to-day appear to be entirely absorbed in the actual life of the present; the cultivation of belles-lettres now plays a very modest *rôle;* and the majority of persons among the educated classes are quite unwilling to indulge in philosophical speculations. How can so complete a revolution be satisfactorily explained? Have the Germans entirely divested themselves of their former inclinations? Have they ceased in every sense to be a "nation of thinkers"? Or may this change be attributed to their versatility? Is it possible that they have been equipped by nature with various tendencies, each of which in the course of history occasionally obtains a preponderant influence? At all events, a fascinating problem is here presented, a solution of which is not only indispensable to a proper appreciation of German nature and life, but may possibly prove conducive to a more correct understanding of the political and intellectual situation of the present day.

The condition of Germany described by Madame de Staël was the result of a peculiar historical process. Among the Germans the modern

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spirit arose at a somewhat later period than among the other cultured nations of Europe. In the sixteenth century, religious problems absorbed all interest; while the first half of the seventeenth century brought that disastrous Thirty Years' War, which robbed Germany of the greater part of her population, barbarized her manners, and destroyed her prosperity. It is a strong proof of their elasticity of nature that in the first half of the eighteenth century the German people had already begun to manifest an earnest desire for intellectual emancipation and for an active participation in modern culture.

But this new vital impulse found in the political and social conditions of the time no suitable object. Germany was split up into hundreds of ridiculously diminutive states that regarded each other with jealousy and disfavor. The development of industry and commerce was retarded by a multitude of difficulties; and all commercial enterprises suffered from the meagreness of the financial resources. In all these external affairs the conditions at that time prevailing were petty and circumscribed. Nowhere was there room for the development of a political and national life on a large scale. In consequence of this, the impulse of life, repelled by the outer world, devoted itself exclusively to the speculative philosophy concerning the universe, and to the development of the internal culture of man.

In this way, the formation of a community of intellect was rendered possible. The Germans created for themselves in literature a special empire of their own,—a republic of scholars and the cultured generally,—which enabled them to rise far above the practical and political life, and which emancipated them from the trammels of the material world. Here infinitude lay before them: it was their especial domain. Thus they could without regret dispense with the possession of the material world. So exclusively had the literary and speculative activity at that time entered into the life of Germany, that Madame de Staël could truthfully say, "In Germany a man who is not occupied with the comprehension of the whole universe, has really nothing to do." Amid the contemplation of the universe, and the artistic creations it inspired, the Germans felt happy and secure until the thunders of the Battle of Jena and the demolition of the entire national order terrorized them out of their sense of security and contentment.

This peculiar situation was vividly described by the gifted authoress; and the picture presented by her must be acknowledged as truthful. Nevertheless, it has one serious defect: it depicts merely a temporary situation, and claims to represent as a permanent and distinguishing

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characteristic of the German people what in reality was a particular and evanescent condition only. That such is the true aspect of the case may be demonstrated by a brief survey of the earlier history of the German people.

Not until the Reformation did Germany acquire a leading position in the intellectual life of Europe. During the Middle Ages she was indeed somewhat behind other nations in scientific and literary matters. At that time Paris was the undisputed centre of culture. This truth was then well expressed in the saying that God had given the priesthood to the Italians, worldly dominion to the Germans, but that he had entrusted the cultivation of the sciences to the French. In those days there were far more German students at foreign universities than foreign students at German universities. Indeed, up to the close of the seventeenth century, we may hear among foreign nations voices which deny the title of the Germans to intellectuality and originality in literary matters, and which recognize only their pertinacious diligence and broad scholarship.

On the other hand, it was impossible at that time to dispute the consummate ability of the Germans in all matters pertaining to the practical affairs of life. The military prowess displayed by the Germans, when they overthrew the Roman Empire and established the Imperialism of their own nation, survived despite all national division: the profession of arms still exerted a powerful fascination over the people. The burghers of Germany, by dint of their persistent diligence, erected the flourishing cities of the Middle Ages. In these industry and commerce experienced an extraordinary development. That there was also no lack of technical skill is proved by the fact that most of the technical inventions of the latter period of the Middle Ages originated in German cities. In this connection it is only necessary to refer to the art of printing.

The Germans of older date also possessed no mean power of organization. This is evident from the achievements of the Hanseatic Union, which controlled lands and seas, and imposed its will upon powerful monarchs. It is shown also in the achievements of the Order of the Teutonic Knights, which established in the northeastern part of Germany an independent realm distinguished by a remarkable system of internal administration. During the Middle Ages the Germans also manifested an extraordinary colonizing activity upon their eastern boundaries; and a large part of our present territory was at that time acquired peacefully, and not by force of arms.

At the beginning of the modern era, Germany was probably the wealthiest country of Europe; and English ambassadors render glowing

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reports of the magnificence of the social conditions prevailing in the cities of the Empire during the sixteenth century. The German people were therefore not originally purely spiritual and unpractical. They are not the "Hindus of Europe," as they were formerly termed in respect of their classical poets and thinkers. On the contrary, they have, from an early period, manifested great ability and activity both in peace and in war; and they have become what they are, not by the favor of nature, but by reason of their own exertions. Energetic labor and pleasure in it are inseparable adjuncts of their being. It is, therefore, no sudden phenomenon, but a reawakening of their ancient deeply rooted nature, if we now see them once more vigorously advancing upon the technical, industrial, and commercial domains; demonstrating a mighty power of expansion, and evincing a desire to participate in the material world,—a privilege with which they gladly dispensed during the era of classicism.

Thus it becomes clear that the picture presented by Madame de Staël does not portray the permanent nature of the German people,—a nature prominently distinguished by energy and thoroughness, and one whose true impulses could be smothered only for a time.

But we should not correctly understand the Germans and their history, were we to regard them *solely* as a nation devoted to labor. They are distinguished by another feature, which is apparently entirely at variance with the foregoing. From the earliest times the Germans have been characterized by an ardent desire to cultivate the deeper life of the soul, to develop a life entirely apart from the world without, to carefully foster what the German language designates as "Gemüt,"—an expression untranslatable into any other tongue. The development of this inner life is possible only where individual freedom exists. Consequently it is in accordance with the German spirit to demand free scope for the development of the individual: a subordination to a universal system is regarded as irksome, aye, as intolerable. This is especially noticeable in regard to the great problems of life, which the German desires to solve for himself without a slavish reliance upon mere authority and tradition.

This feature of the German nature already reveals itself in the Middle Ages. It appears in the domain of religion in the form of a profound mysticism; it manifests itself in the fervor of the lyrical poetry of the period; and it may be recognized in many peculiarities of law, custom, and language. But it is only in modern times that its unmistakable presence and full power have been thoroughly realized. The psychical depth and freedom of German life gave rise to the Reformation; and the Reformation, again, acted as a powerful agency in the de-

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velopment of the inner life itself, greatly extending the influence of this upon every domain.

Through the Reformation, Germany has become the classical land of pedagogy. According to the new religious faith, it was regarded as all-essential to win over the soul of every individual to the recognition of the Sacred Word through full conviction of its truth. Consequently it became a sacred duty to afford all classes of the population some education,—at least in the elementary branches. How seriously this mission was taken in Germany is apparent from the fact that various states—notably Würtemberg and Saxony—inaugurated, as early as the sixteenth century, a carefully graded school organization; that the first measures toward compulsory school education date back to the gloomy period of the Thirty Years' War; and that normal schools were introduced into Germany *in the second half of the seventeenth century*.

Probably nothing has contributed more largely to the intellectual supremacy of our country than this early movement in favor of pedagogical training. At a later day pedagogy became emancipated from theology. Yet the great mission of the science has ever been the development of the inner powers, the cultivation of the soul-life; never a mere outward training for external purposes. And in the solution of this mission lies the greatness of her leaders, Pestalozzi and Herbart.

This tendency of the German people toward the development of the inner life manifests itself also in their love and aptitude for music. It was not a mere chance that the greatest hero of the Reformation, the man who, according to Madame de Staël, was distinguished above all his great contemporaries by the most thoroughly German character ("le caractère le plus allemand") should have stood in such close relation to music. It is owing to its close connection with the inner life of the German people that music is, and will remain, with them the most popular of the arts. Consonantly with this, we find that the *forte* of the German people lies in their lyrics; and their greatest poet, Goethe, is truly classical in this field only. German philosophy also, wherever it has been distinguished by great and characteristic productions, has ever made the inner life a central point from which the observation and comprehension of the actual were to proceed. Such was the philosophical attitude of Leibnitz, Kant, and Hegel; and all deviations from this course in Germany have ever resulted in second-rate productions. It was this aim for the development of the inner nature—an aim the benefits of which had become so obvious—that finally enabled the German, toward the close of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nine-

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teenth, the period of classicism, to construct for himself an inner world from which he might contemplate man in his entirety. This era is comprehensible only as the climax of a long-continued series of efforts.

But in this century also, with its ever-increasing interest in the material world and in practical labor, the influence of that spiritual power of which I have spoken, although concealed and misunderstood, is by no means inactive. The possession of a rich inner life was the basis and the indispensable means of the political and practical revival of Germany. Never would our people have succeeded in attaining such excellent and rapid results in a field neglected by them for centuries, had they not possessed an accumulated fund of spiritual energy and a rich store of intellectual capital. Never would the life of the people have moved forward with such *élan* or manifested such vigorous activity and power of expansion as at present, had not a multitude of small individual centres of culture served to disseminate knowledge among the entire people. The first Napoleon ascribed his downfall primarily to the influence of the German idealists: he well knew what a tremendous influence can be exerted by self-concentrated individuals. Thus we see that the Germany of to-day would have been inconceivable without that of the classical era.

But a close observer cannot fail to perceive that, even in the midst of the present realism, the ancient principle still exerts its influence upon the nation. It is true that the philosophical views and theories have been pushed farther into the background; but the Germans, unlike other nations, are still incapable of accepting the world without demanding an interpretation of its phenomena as they present themselves. Not philosophy, however, but history, is now the medium of interpretation. Prominent Americans have frequently told me that they regard, as the most striking characteristic of contemporaneous German science, the tendency to treat all subjects historically and genetically,—to state carefully the origin of every problem, and trace it through every phase of its development to the present day. Even experiments in physics, they say, are not performed without a historical introduction. Is not this method of treatment also a species of philosophy?

But the direct interest in philosophical and speculative subjects is by no means extinct. Whenever the German is fully possessed of an idea or a mission, he is now, as ever, strongly disposed to construct it into a universal system, a general view of life, aye, into a sort of religion for which he zealously seeks to make converts. Two great examples of this tendency are to-day strikingly manifest. Darwin regarded "Darwinism" primarily as a theory of the physical sciences: the universal

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problems involved were to him of secondary importance. In Germany, however, the theory was at once converted into the system of "Monism," into a new philosophy, a new universal order.

The Social Movement emanated from England and France. Not until it came to Germany, however, was it taken up by the Social Democracy, and, by a combination of Hegel's doctrines with those of a materialistic nature, formulated into a philosophical system,—a system which aims to bring every department of life into accord with its views, and similarly seeks to determine the great problems of the day. Thus, for example, the meetings of the factory-workers in Germany are devoted to a discussion of that portion of the philosophy of history which may be identified with the Social Movement. It is customary for other nations in dealing with economic questions to leave the philosophy of history out of the matter.

The examples themselves show that the speculative tendency peculiar to the Germans is also fraught with serious dangers. It is apt to lead to rapid generalizations, the result of a one-sided view obtained through familiarity with some particular domain only. It shows an inclination to confine the sum total of actual experience within a narrow system; and it may easily lead to a fanaticism which understands and acknowledges that only which is arrayed beneath its flag. But a desire to further the full development of man is here also unmistakable.

In fact, the German of to-day reveals, in his entire mode of living and in all his aspirations, the same tendency toward contemplation and systematic reasoning which Madame de Staël once designated as characteristic of our people. Where shall we find to-day so strong a desire to generalize, such strife over principles, so much theorizing in politics, and so powerful an inclination to speculate upon the present as in Germany? It is harder for the Germans than for other nations to arrive at conclusions concerning the practical questions of life. Each individual obstinately maintains his own opinion and goes forward in his own way. The individualism manifested by the masses prevents voluntary personal subordination as well as a spontaneous combination on their part. It prevents the formation of great parties, and hinders a joyful recognition of great achievements and personalities; for each individual, according to his personal conviction, expects to find deeds and persons somewhat different from what they actually are.

All this is in accordance with the older German principle which we still find active. But it no longer exercises its former sway. It has

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undoubtedly been pushed into the background by the realistic tendency; and it is this tendency which dominates the German life of the present.

We are now in a position to reply to the question, Are the Germans still a nation of thinkers? This is by no means an easy task, however; for an affirmative answer is equally admissible with a negative one. The Germans are no longer the nation of thinkers that they were in the days of Schiller and Goethe; speculation and contemplation may not now be said to be their predominant characteristics; and they are no longer content with the purely ideal world. But, in a general sense, they are still a nation of thinkers, inasmuch as nothing is accepted by them which they cannot satisfactorily explain and appropriate as a true inward possession. They wish to be systematic in all their undertakings and to devote to these great mental energy. In the midst of all their practical work, they cannot dispense with their individualism and with the desire for a philosophical view of life.

In the course of our inquiry, however, we have noticed that the nature of the German people is by no means simple, but that it constitutes within itself a powerful contrast and a permanent problem. The Germans have a twofold nature. They are a people of diligent workers, yet characterized by depth of soul. It is necessary for them to establish a certain harmony within themselves, to seek a dominant centre of activity; and, in the course of their history, they are impelled now in one direction and now in another. Thus we see that there is a powerful tension in German life which is difficult to satisfy, and which lacks the completeness possessed by other nations. On the other hand, it contains more inward activity, possesses great resources, and is capable of ever assuming new forms.

During the nineteenth century the centre of gravity has been rapidly shifted from one side to the other. At the beginning of the century the spiritual tendency greatly preponderated; while the realistic feature was as if crippled.

This was the era when the educated German was completely absorbed in the world of poetry and thought; and this condition of affairs was exceedingly comfortable and agreeable to other nations. Germany, by reason of her philosophy and artistic creations, contributed greatly to the general enrichment of life; while, at the same time, she was not a troublesome competitor in the sphere of reality. The favor with which other nations regarded her, however, rapidly declined so soon as they perceived her ability to achieve distinction in the actual world and to solicit

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recognition. The nations had become so accustomed to see Germany dispense with these things, that they often actually regarded in her as a serious offence what in others had ever been considered as a self-evident privilege. Surely no fair-minded person would expect to see a great people permanently forego a participation in active life, and willingly become a mere spectator of the drama of history.

Our investigation has shown that if the Germans now manifest greater activity and energy in the practical affairs of life, they owe this to an indestructible impulse of their nature,—an impulse which animated them throughout many centuries, and which has now been revived. It is but natural, therefore, that the people who once possessed themselves of the imperial crown of the Roman Empire, and who during the Middle Ages were recognized as the most powerful nation of Europe, should not permanently remain satisfied with the empire of the air.

It is natural that the one-sided spiritual tendency should have been followed by a powerful reaction, and that for the present realism should maintain its supremacy among the German people.

But if it is true that our people have never been wholly spiritual, it is equally certain that they will never become purely realistic. They will never be able to give up entirely their search for an ideal inward possession, nor will they become oblivious of their cultural mission. We have seen that, in the very midst of realism, numerous influences of a different nature have been preserved. Still further evidences of this may be adduced. Notwithstanding the rapid growth of material prosperity, the splendid progress in the mechanical and industrial departments, and the great success attending all our national enterprises, the German of to-day feels no inward satisfaction. On the contrary, he is always conscious that something is lacking. Strong pessimistic currents are discernible not only in our literature, but in our national life as well. Is not this a convincing proof that the German of to-day requires something more for his happiness than success and expansion in the outer world? A reaction against pure realism is already in the ascendant. We may confidently expect that our people will soon again devote more attention to the development of the other side of their nature, that they will once more cultivate art, philosophy, and religion on a broad scale, and in this way contribute new treasures to the common fund of humanity. The Germans have not yet exhausted their mental resources. They have not yet finished their part in the drama. Indeed, they have not yet attained the highest destiny to which their peculiar nature entitles them. That destiny consists in overcoming the contrast between

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soul and labor, and in developing an independent inner life in the midst of a vigorous and fruitful external activity. This task is a burning question and an urgent problem for all civilized nations. The human race is to-day confronted by a serious danger; for labor, constantly increasing in volume, threatens to absorb completely the individual, to crush out all spiritual life, and to make us the mere instruments of a mechanical process of culture, which, at the same time, tends to weaken and to cripple the moral faculties. It devolves upon us all unitedly to guard against so serious a danger, in order that we may maintain our happiness and integrity.

Is it not reasonable to suppose that in this conflict a prominent part should be played by the nation which inaugurated the Reformation which, as regards literary production and pedagogical training, has ever aimed primarily at the internal improvement of man, and which has given birth to those great classicists whose works may be likened to an inexhaustible fountain, or to a veritable spiritual world of infinite depth? The German people cannot discontinue their efforts in behalf of a deeper inward culture without denying their historical traditions and sacrificing one of the principal elements of their character. So long as they remain true to themselves, they will hold fast to their ideal and, at the same time,—although in a wider sense,—maintain their right to be entitled a "nation of thinkers."

RUDOLF EUCKEN.

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GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY IN THE KLONDYKE.

LIFE among the thirty thousand pilgrims who are spending the winter in Dawson, under conditions such as never existed before in any community of equal size, is only a less interesting study than the Utopian character of the original settlements in the Yukon Valley. Forty Mile and Circle City were founded and inhabited by the robust pioneers who blazed the way to the wealth of the interior of Alaska and the adjoining regions of the British Northwest Territory. Nine-tenths of the population of Dawson to-day were members of last summer's great pilgrimage; which was composed of all classes of adventurous spirits, including the idle and the irresponsible from the ends of the earth. The *personnel* of the new camps differs so widely from that of the old that there is a complete variation in the life of the two communities, excepting, of course, such influence, derived from the manners and customs of the old camps, as has not yet been destroyed by incoming worldliness.

Many of the hardships which the early prospectors endured are already a memory. In their combat with Nature they were not cheered by such tales as lured on the host of '97–'98. The majority of them came from the frontiers of the United States; a smaller part, generally of French descent, from the frontiers of Canada. All were peculiarly the product of the natural bent of Anglo-Saxon civilization for overcoming obstacles. Not uncommon were fugitives from justice, who, in undergoing great physical trials, learned a lesson in manhood and often became heroic pioneers. Then, again, there were many of those recluses who are ever seeking lonely refuges out of touch with organized society.

There was no attraction—especially when no "big strikes" had been reported—for the idle and the dissolute, who infest similar settlements in more hospitable countries. Relieved of the parasitic class, and for eight months in the year being interdependent in isolation from the outside world under the most rigorous conditions, their inhabitants, despite the "pasts" of some of them, made Circle City and Forty Mile the most peaceable of mining-camps. Capt. Constantine, of the British Northwest Mounted Police, with a few men, had plenary powers at Forty Mile;

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while Circle City was nominally governed by a United States commissioner and a United States marshal.

The white women in both communities could be counted on the fingers of two hands. The wives of a few missionaries and of other leading men had come in on the steamers in summer to join their husbands. Besides these there were half a dozen half-breed women, with more or less of the blood of Russian fur traders in their veins, and a few full-blooded squaws who performed the household duties in some cabins for their respective civilized lords and masters.

The miners did their own washing and mending. Their amusements were cards and checkers. The climate seemed to exercise a softening effect upon bellicose natures; and even intoxication seldom carried quarrels beyond a verbal dispute. Whoever struck the first blow had the consensus of opinion of the camp against him. To the newcomer it was hinted that a six-shooter, which fiction makes the inseparable companion of all men in a new placer-mining-camp, was a superfluity that would keep him out of trouble only so long as he might keep it hanging on a peg in his cabin. Its weight alone was equal to two days' rations in a country where the prospector had to dispense with his helpmeet, the mule or the burro, and to take his supplies for a tour upon his back. Arms, therefore, were never carried unless there was a chance of meeting with game. "We've got enough to do fighting Alaska, without fighting one another," was a saying which sententiously expressed the general feeling.

The essence of the "free miners' law" was being on the "squar'," which, after all, is a rough equivalent of the brotherhood of man. In a dispute as to the ownership of a claim the "miners' meeting" decided which claimant was in the right. All offenders were brought before the bar of their fellows. After an examination of witnesses, a man accused of theft was acquitted or convicted by the holding up of hands. If guilty, either he was warned to leave the country at once—no slight penalty in midwinter, with only the hospitality of Indians to depend upon—or expulsion was postponed pending good behavior.

Under the force of self-interest a universal good-will prevailed. Whatever dust a miner had—perhaps a summer's earnings, which were to pay for another year's supplies—he kept with impunity in tomato cans on the table of his cabin. When he went away from home, on a journey to some other creek, he left his latchstring out. On the very evening of his absence, while his own cabin was occupied by another, he was, perhaps, sleeping without an invitation in the cabin of someone else.

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By the unwritten law of the land he enjoyed whatever luxuries of food and rest it afforded; but, likewise by the unwritten law of the land, he washed any dishes that he had used and put them and all other things that he had disturbed where they belonged, folded the blankets on the bunk which he had occupied, cut firewood in place of that which he had burned, and laid kindlings by the stove ready to make warmth and cheer for the owner on his return.

Cheechawkos,—a name for newcomers, which the miners borrowed from the Indians,—who came down the river in their rough boats in the spring, at first were often transgressors through ignorance. But so few arrived at a time that the majority were soon able to convince them of the folly of courting trouble. Anyone with a bad record could not obtain loans or other favors when he needed them. After he had consumed the supplies which he had brought into the country, he had to rely upon the transportation companies—established to meet the demand of the new settlements—whose river steamers connected with ocean-going vessels at the island of St. Michael, in Norton Sound. When a man had been unfortunate in his summer's work, a reputation for probity would secure from the companies a year's outfit on a simple promise to pay. In treating generously the real prospector who sought new fields, they only had an eye to their own interests in the development of the country. Every canned or preserved delicacy was included in a year's supplies, which cost from $500 to $600. Canned plum pudding was a treat for the holidays; and more than one miner ate *pâté de foie gras* for the first time in Circle City or Forty Mile. These luxuries, however, were no substitutes for fresh fruits and fresh vegetables.

The flat-bottomed river steamers continued on their course until the ice in the river led them to seek a slough or side-channel for safety, all hands preparing to spend the winter housed up on board. Then no more Cheechawkos' boats could arrive, and the camps were separated from the outside world as completely as a whaler caught in the ice of Bering Sea. To all men, including the recluses, a "pardner" was essential. Recluses were recluses from civilization, and not from fellowmen of their own tastes; and no one, except a few of the most perverse, undertook single-handed to put up a cabin or to live in it alone.

The "town" was on the river bank at the most accessible point to the creeks whose wealth was responsible for its existence. Its cabins clustered around the commercial companies' stores and the saloons. On one side was a camp of Indians, with the mission station which ministered to their spiritual wants and, following the paths of diplomacy, to

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the spiritual wants of the miners,—upon request. Fuel was brought from the hill-sides, and food was taken to the cabins on the creeks, by teams of husky dogs.

When, in December, winter settled down in serene triumph, there was not even the falling of snow to disturb the calm atmosphere. The fine, white particles under foot, which seemed sharp as powdered glass to the touch, were precipitated invisibly, like frost. They glistened on the rocky mountain-side, without a breath of air to stir them. In the few hours of gray light out of the twenty-four, men welcomed the sound of their own voices, or even the howl of their dogs, to break the silence which was the fit companion of the dry, biting cold. At night they forgave the still and merciless panorama of the day, as they watched out of their cabin windows the majestic play of the Northern Lights.

With the coming of spring, when the sun mounted rapidly in the heavens, every man had his opinion, and his reasons for it, as to the precise date when the ice should go out of the Yukon. After this event—the greatest of the year—had taken place, all eyes kept a lookout up-stream for the first pine-colored boat that should dart around the bend with the rapidity of the current. The Cheechawko was surrounded by a little crowd who asked him about the result of the previous November's elections, or whether France and Germany had gone to war as indicated by an August paper which the community had been reading for eight months. Yet, despite the diet, the isolation, and the inhospitable nature of the country, many of the old-timers, upon realizing the material ambition which had brought them to Alaska, departed with a feeling of regret that amounted to more than the momentary pang of seeing the last of old associations. From two to ten years had passed since many of them had seen the light of a street-lamp glistening upon a pavement, or even a building not constructed of logs. Their natures, full of the conceits of frontier life, were ill at ease at the prospect of the social restraints of civilization. But civilization offers many advantages over Forty Mile for spending a fortune. Those who become poor again will return to the pick and the pan, as a wanderer returns home.

For the first winter Dawson, being populated entirely by men from the old camps, was, of course, largely a counterpart of Forty Mile and Circle City, except that the excitement and the feverish optimism, which increased as the new discoveries continued to surpass expectations, had been thitherto unknown in the Valley. The contamination of the old customs began with the arrival of the fifteen hundred madly hastening

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pilgrims, who succeeded in reaching Dawson before navigation was closed in the autumn following the receipt by the outside world of the news of the "strikes" on Bonanza and Eldorado creeks. It was hastened by the change of principle of some of the more fortunate old-timers, who developed those human weaknesses which are brought out in sharp relief by the sometimes doubtful blessing of sudden, great, and unexpected success. Practical communism was easier for a man when he and his comrade were equally poor than after chance had made him the owner of a plot of creek-bed worth from $500,000 to $1,000,000, while his comrade, who had been too late in the stampede to stake a claim on Eldorado, was among his employees.

There sprang up an aristocratic social circle called the Eldorado Kings, suffering, in a measure, from the affliction of the *nouveaux riches* of old communities who live miserably under the suspicion that whoever approaches them has an axe to grind. Considering how untutored many of them were and how delightful and worthy they had been in the old associations, they seemed pitiful in their expectation of great pleasure in the new circle which their wealth would open to them in the outside world. A few, who had been thitherto easy-going, caught the fever of money-making, and found in the purchase and development of properties, or in speculation, a supreme joy of existence to take the place of that of a long plug of tobacco and a game of checkers or cards. There were the exceptions whose natures were in nowise changed. One of these, a Swedish workman, the owner of a claim which is probably the richest on Eldorado, gave to each of his favorite comrades a portion of it to work "on shares," which was equivalent to the gift of a small fortune. But even he was a contributor to the desuetude of the old-time simplicity. So were other men who, at the gaming-table, or over the bars of the saloons, spent their money with a freedom and recklessness worthy of the childish extravagance and the changing fortunes of the camps in the early days of California.

With the arrival of the pilgrimage of last summer, sweeping down upon Dawson like an army corps upon a small village, the contamination of the old customs seemed all but complete. The wealth of Eldorado was a sufficient attraction to lead the parasitic class to face minimized hardships. Five hundred women of the *demi-monde*, professional prize-fighters and gamblers, small speculators with a maximum of clownish adaptability and a minimum of dignity and honesty, representatives of capitalistic enterprises, men who had turned their backs on bankruptcy courts at home and their faces toward a new field of endeavor, ne'er-do-

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well sons, old miners from South Africa and Australia as well as America, and all manner of men from all parts of the world, having the spirit of adventure and a faith in their luck or in their brawn, thronged the main street of this unique settlement. The time had passed when every man nodded to whomsoever he met, in the manner of the members of an old and exclusive club. Dawson had become a settlement not of neighbors, but, like Mecca, of strangers living in tents.

Heretofore, all the communities in the British Northwest Territory had been under the jurisdiction of the Territorial Government. Its arm of administration is the Northwest Mounted Police, formed by the late Sir John Macdonald for patrolling the sparsely settled regions, whose development was one of the leading features of his policy. Most of the privates are of the class of hardy-going Englishmen who fill the ranks of the British army and who are fond of "roughing it." The officers have not received a military education, but are inured to frontier life.

In its policy, the Dominion Government, which took matters out of the hands of the Territorial Government, has apparently been largely influenced by the predominance of aliens in the Klondyke. At least three-fourths of the present claim-owners, of the two thousand men in and around Dawson in the winter of '96–'97, of the three thousand five hundred in the winter of '97–'98, and of the thirty thousand pilgrims of the spring of '98 were citizens of the United States. Naturally, the members of the Canadian Parliament regarded with dismay the prospect of the new-found wealth of a portion of their domain, hitherto considered valueless, going to American mints. Above all, they did not propose that their constituents should pay the cost of administration, which, on account of the isolation of the region to be governed, must be comparatively expensive. Rather were they inclined to follow in the footsteps of the legislators of the Transvaal Republic, whose taxation of the mining industry has called forth such bitter protests from English investors.

Accordingly the placer regions of the Valley in British territory were created a special province called the Yukon District, under the jurisdiction of the Dominion Parliament. A Commissioner, with the powers of a dictator, was appointed for the District; the Judge only being responsible to Ottawa and not subject to the Commissioner's orders. The other civil officials were a Gold Commissioner, who had charge of the recording of claims, a Crown Attorney, and two Mining Inspectors for collecting the royalties. The opportunities of the Commissioner for pecuniary aggrandizement were made exceptional by the system of taxa-

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tion devised. On the output of all claims a royalty of 10 per cent was collected. Every pilgrim had to take out a mining license at a cost of $10. For having a claim recorded a fee of $15 was charged. Every alternate claim on all new discoveries was reserved to the Crown, thus depriving the community of half the reward of enterprise. Early in the winter the Commissioner made a rule restraining anyone from entering Canadian territory by the Passes without a year's supply of food, which he estimated at the rate of three pounds a day, making in all 1,095 pounds. This was a praiseworthy precaution against the possibility of famine, and yielded a large sum in duties, the average amount being $40 on every outfit bought in the United States. Never before had the individual prospector setting out for a new country been obliged to face so many obstacles.

Major Walsh, who was chosen Commissioner, though an affable politician, did not possess the qualities of either a popular or an efficient administrator. He did not go to Dawson in the autumn of 1897: the corps of civil officials preceded him. He remained behind in camp on the Lewes Lakes, with a considerable force of Police, in order to escort to Dawson the United States Relief Expedition, which went no farther than Dyea. Among the officers and men of the Police, who had taken up their position on the summit of Chilkoot Pass without having first obtained the consent of the United States, there was a general impression that this expedition,—conceived in philanthropy, and in charge of less than a full company of United States regulars without any rapid-fire guns or other artillery,—was only a cover for a kind of Jameson Raid which was to raise the American flag in the Klondyke. Whether or not the Government at Ottawa was responsible, by its instructions, for this suspicion, I cannot say; though this does not seem unlikely, considering the parallel of the Transvaal Republic, if the Government at Ottawa was at all self-conscious. Major Walsh sent an order to Major Rucker, who was in charge of the Expedition, that the United States officers must not be in uniform or bear their side-arms, and that the privates must not carry any arms or ammunition. At the same time the Mounted Police had an office in Skaguay, and conducted a great deal of business there in uniform. Not many years before, Canadian troops, fully equipped for war, on their way to put down the Riel rebellion, passed, by consent, through United States territory.

The corruptibility of the civil officials at Dawson was accepted on all sides as a matter of fact. Perhaps the gravest charge was in connection with the water-front, the data of which were given to me by

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several leading men. The Canadian law wisely provides that the main street of a new town shall be at all points a certain distance from the bank of the river. In order not to have a crooked main street, the men who staked the town-site of Dawson agreed to follow this measurement, from the greatest indentation of the bank, in a straight line. Those who bought lots on the main street supposed that they were securing river frontage, which is invaluable. Last spring, however, saw a long row of buildings whose back-doors were toward the river and which faced the original row. Without authority the officials had let the water-front to an individual for a nominal sum in the name of the Government. The sub-lessees said, with a shrug of their shoulders, that they did not care to say to whom they paid their heavy rents, and that they were satisfied as long as they were left undisturbed. The transportation companies, which are American corporations, had been guaranteed a landing-place and runways for bringing their goods up to their warehouses; and, in face of the prospective infringement of their rights, their attitude was such that the clique desisted from letting this portion of the water-front, although it was included in the nominal lease granted to the individual by the Government.

Capt. Constantine, who had been transferred from the charge of the police at Forty Mile to the same position at Dawson, would not be a party to any wrong-doing. His departure last summer was agreeable to him as well as to the other officials, because he was alone among uncongenial company. No voice was raised against the testimonial of respect presented to him by the leading citizens and the old-timers, regardless of nationality, who had known him for years. He understood the miners; and they knew that, though gruff, he was honest and incorruptible. Even the lawless ones admitted this much; for in no community is simple integrity enforced by a strong will better appreciated than in a mining-camp. Had he been retained as administrator of the whole district, with the power to choose his own assistants, Dawson would have been a phenomenally well-governed settlement, and the development of the great wealth of the region would have been less retarded. Instead of men who had spent their lives among pioneers, the Dominion Government sent, as the reward for party service, men whose experience was limited to local politics at home. With hundreds of experts to choose from in British Columbia, an ex-captain of a whaler and an ex-livery-stable-keeper were made inspectors to collect the royalty of 10 per cent on an output of eight millions of gold. The inference as to how they might add to their ridiculously low salaries is obvious.

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Considering the expense of recording a claim, the owners of claims and the prospectors had at least the right to expect from the Gold Commissioner's Office reasonable attention to duty. To have posted in a public place a detailed map of the district, with all claims and the names of their owners recorded, would have required little labor and no expense; but it would have ruined the business of the clerks in furnishing information. Considering the number of policemen with idle hands, mail received in the summer might have been sorted with despatch and distributed at different windows under different heads. But a delay of two or three days, and the prospect of waiting in line for several hours before one could even ask if there was a letter for him, were strong incentives, to miners who wished to hurry back to their claims, to put a few dollars into an itching palm and, in return, to receive immediate attention at the side-door of the Post-Office.

Unfortunately the arrival of Major Walsh in Dawson in the spring, accompanied by a greater retinue of servants than all our Peace Commissioners took with them to Paris, was not productive of the reforms which an oppressed population had hoped for. The acts of the officials, except that of a representative of the Northwest Territory in placing a tax of $2,000 each on saloons and gambling-halls, seemed to meet with the favor of the Commissioner. He maintained that the Territorial Government was infringing on the special powers granted to him by the Dominion Government; and he issued an order that anyone who chose might sell liquor without any form of license. Vice learned how to make its peace.

The buildings on the water-front stood in the way of even a primitive system of sewerage. Simple sanitary rules were not promulgated, much less enforced. Absolutely no precautions were taken against the epidemic of fever, which was responsible for so many deaths last summer. Private beneficence, mostly American, built the two hospitals; and it now maintains them and carries on all charitable undertakings. Whatever has been done in the way of improvements has been paid for by public subscriptions. The full measure of the Government's public spirit was the construction of the barracks and stockade for the Police on the Government Reserve, which are ridiculously large, considering the size of the flat which constitutes the town-site. When the pilgrims asked for the privilege of camping on the Reserve, they were told that there was room on the hill-sides above the town. Had some of the money collected from the claim-owners and the prospectors been expended on constructing trails and on a system of sanitation, there would have been less

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ground for complaint. Doing nothing itself, the Government often took the position of the dog in the manger. The exorbitant price demanded for a charter forced capitalists to give up the plan of building a railroad from Dawson to the mines, which would have been invaluable in cheapening the cost of mining. After paying for timber privileges in their licenses, the pilgrims have found, to their dismay, that the Government, or the officials, have given enormous timber grants in the neighborhood of Dawson to individuals, thus putting an artificial value on logs for firewood and building purposes.

Possibly, however, the folly of the officials reached its height in the case of the Dominion bench-claims. The Gold Commissioner's Office advertised that the benches on Dominion Creek, which had been closed for specious reasons, would be opened on July 11. On the morning of that day the thousands who had accepted the Government's word in good faith arrived on the scene, only to find that the choicest locations had been taken by members of the Mounted Police and friends of the Administration, whose rights to the claims that they had staked were later confirmed by the Gold Commissioner's Office. If the United States regulars had taken up the best quarter-sections in Oklahoma before any of the "boomers" were allowed across the line, the outrage would have been scarcely equal to that perpetrated upon men who had endured so many hardships and, perhaps, staked all their worldly possessions against the price of an outfit and a journey to the land of their dreams, where a year's labor might pay off the mortgage on a homestead, purchase an education, build a home, or win back a lost reputation.

For they who were thus cheated were not parasites, but of the same class that has built towns and granaries in wildernesses. Without this injustice, arousing them to the uncertainty of holding a claim once they had legitimately earned it, the awakening to the real difficulties of prospecting in Alaska and the taxation (in contrast to the liberality of American and British Columbian mining laws) were sufficiently discouraging. Even as Dyea and Skaguay represented the American system of dealing with frontier settlements at its worst, so Dawson represented the British system at its worst. In one there was no government: in the other a superactive officialdom stifled all enterprise.

The incident of the amusing little ultimatum to our Relief Expedition, and, particularly, the circumstances surrounding it, I have mentioned principally because they are illustrative of the general attitude of the officials toward Americans. There was, indeed, much in the government of this settlement of white men which might have been taken

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for a burlesque on the rule in a British protectorate of a barbarian people. The loudest complaints arose from Englishmen and Australians, who were quick to resent the apparent reasoning of the officials, that to be quite un-American was to be British. Americans, on account of their position as aliens, took little part in the agitation for better laws and better rulers. As American claim-owners held their claims only by leases which could be cancelled at the Government's pleasure, it was not surprising that they did not want to jeopardize their titles by being "indiscreet."

When I say—speaking as one who has no interest in the Klondyke except that of an observer—that the conduct of the officials last winter and summer was a disgrace to the flag with which we have come to associate fair play the world over, I think that most Englishmen in the Klondyke will agree with me. If the new laws were directed against Americans, they have injured Canadians and other British subjects equally as much, if not more. From the first, London regarded the Klondyke as a great field for exploitation. Most of the capital represented there last spring was British. The royalty of 10 per cent and the failure to use the money so collected in constructing trails are of greater moment to capitalistic (largely British) than to individual (largely American) enterprise. A poor man who takes from $5,000 to $50,000 out of a bench-claim with his own hands will not be deterred from his labors by the royalty. Ten per cent on the gross output makes a majority of company propositions impracticable. Often it will wipe out a goodly profit, and put a balance on the wrong side of the ledger. As soon as it was known that the Dominion Government would not heed the appeals for the abolition of the royalty, the reaction from the "boom" of a year ago was complete. The appointment of Mr. Ogilvie, the new Commissioner, who has a reputation for probity, was as welcome to the aliens as to the other residents; although he, also, has the reputation of disliking Americans. It is devoutly to be hoped that, once the application of the fable of the goose and the golden eggs is brought home to the Canadian Parliament, British influence will succeed in having the royalty repealed.

Much has been said, and with good reason, in praise of the order which the adequate—perhaps more than adequate—force of Mounted Police maintains. Malefactors are punished with the commendable promptitude of British justice; and no murderer in Dawson can snap his fingers in the face of the law, as one did a year ago at Skaguay in our own territory. Crimes have increased since the lawless element

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arrived last summer, but are still surprisingly rare. The isolation in winter, the ease of capturing a culprit, and the terrible punishment of a term in the prison at Forty Mile, have all been allies of the Police in their work. Unquestionably there are fewer "shooting scrapes" and other like phenomena of frontier communities than if Dawson were in American territory and had a complement of United States marshals. A company of our regulars, however, would have the same orderly influence as the Mounted Police.

Though the Americans are getting so much of the gold of the Klondyke, it should not be forgotten that a great host of Canadians, many of them naturalized, are enjoying the prosperity of the United States. Moreover, we hold the "front door" to the Klondyke, which we may use, in case of necessity, as a *quid pro quo* for privileges in the Yukon District. The ambition of the Canadians to secure control of the Southeastern coast is laudable enough; but under no circumstances should we gratify it.

An all-Canadian route to the Klondyke was proved to be quite impracticable by the bitter experience of a few prospectors last spring; and the Canadian Government itself uses the American route. The only practicable routes are by Bering Sea and the mouth of the river, and over the Passes from the American coast in Southeastern Alaska to the headwaters of the Yukon. It seems now to have been demonstrated that the route over the Passes is the superior one. If ever the mining interests of Alaska and the British Northwest can support a railroad from the coast to Dawson, one of the termini must be in American territory. Abounding mineral wealth awaits us in Alaska; and in time other metals than gold may be brought to our doors as cheaply as they can be mined at home.

FREDERICK PALMER.

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SOCIAL ETHICS IN THE SCHOOLS.

PERHAPS there is nothing that causes more anxious thought to a novice in teaching than the question of discipline. No subject is in general more illogically and inconsistently treated; and none deserves better the rational mode of approach that has long been denied to it.

In the face of uncertainties in moral training many teachers have denied responsibility for more than mental training; weak parents have said to teachers who have undertaken the responsibility, "You can do more than I with my child"; and friends have said of many a wild youth, "Oh, he must sow his wild oats." Why should this uncertainty exist? Are we doing all we can, when we leave so important a subject to chance treatment? Even where the aim of education has been given an ethical significance, and the building of character has been considered the most important office of the teacher, we have failed both in theory and in practice.

Herbart makes the early period of the child's life one of restraint under government, that the child may not be troublesome. Accompanying this government is a solicitude for the right development of a reasonable being. The child's will must be cultured; but it must be bent until culture take the place of bending. In other words, discipline follows government. The measures of the one are merged into the other. Government takes into account only the results of actions: discipline looks to intentions. This discipline does not consist in that swaying of the emotions which is sometimes mistaken for moral training, nor in a strictness which exerts only temporary influence, and often blunts the finer feelings. Discipline is a forming principle, a continuous treatment which does not depend on chance.

The great mistake which Herbart makes is in the time for the introduction of discipline. This begins, as Pestalozzi taught, when intellectual training begins. Pestalozzi says:

"I tried to investigate, back to its very beginning, the early history of the child to be taught, and was soon convinced that the first hour of its instruction is the hour of its birth. From the moment in which its mind can receive impressions from nature, nature teaches it. The new life itself is nothing but the just awakened readiness to receive these impressions. It is only the awakening of the perfect

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physical buds that now aspire, with all their power and all their impulses, toward the development of their individuality. It is only the awakening of the now perfect animal, that will and must become man." ("Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder Lehrt." —Erster Brief, § 33.)

At the same period, and in the same way in which mental training begins, *i.e.*, through the sense-sources, the moral training also begins.

It is no mere sickly sentimentality that would banish corporal punishment from the class-room. Under more humane management the standards of the school have risen and the humanizing influences have become greater. We do not need to turn to the historic past to know that harshness begets harshness, hardness, and cruelty. The world reflects the spirit in which we meet it; and this is nowhere more evident than in the class-room. A harsh word, a sneering remark, the cynicism of the teacher, are reflected by sensitive children; while undue severity and corporal punishment make impossible a spirit of harmony and interest, and the feeling of mutual coöperation, which should be called forth in the ideal relations of pupil and teacher. On the contrary, a firm, consistent, generous treatment of a young child, as of an older person, has an appealing and controlling force. This is preëminently true of the normal child, of a child in which the sense-impressions have been on the whole favorable to happy social relations; where the "sense-means of cultivating virtue" have been present in early childhood in the home; where the child has gained, from the action of those by whom he is surrounded and in the satisfaction of his physical needs, an impulse which awakened love and gratitude to those who satisfied these needs, and trust in those who protected him in danger; where those who have directed him have been as inflexible as nature toward his irregular desires; where he has become accustomed to yield his wishes to circumstances, to a consideration of others, or to the direction of parents.

With such environment patience, obedience, gratitude, trust, and love have begun to unfold before the child enters the school. He has already recognized that all that exists in the world is not for his own sake only; and he has begun to respond in self-development and self-control. In the companionship of those who love him, of those who in the daily relations of home show him that justice, mercy, purity, love, generosity, firmness, courage, are controlling elements in social life, he has already obtained a preparatory discipline which makes him amenable to the discipline of the school. The daily unspoken, but powerful, influence of the character of those by whom he is surrounded has introduced him rapidly into the favorable conditions of moral growth; and

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in normal relations there should be no break between such home life and the school. The Kindergarten has its greatest power in doing just this work of preparation for the elementary school.

But suppose that this early period has been neglected; that the carelessness or thoughtlessness or unwise over-indulgence or over-severity of parents has already dwarfed or stunted social and ethical development; and that the "sense-means for the cultivation of virtue" have been totally wanting. In such case, if not stimulated by favorable means, the child responds to unfavorable agencies. If the ground is not sown with wheat, it is ready to bring forth weeds. Suppose, as in many cases, that the "sense-means" have contributed to the development of opposite character. Many children in the classes of our public schools come to the teacher from homes where unregulated and passionate lives, irregular and uncontrolled impulses, harsh words and discourtesy have given the prevailing tone, and when these influences have already begun to bear fruit in word and action, and have already entered into the standards which form the basis of character.

What means can be employed to meet these abnormal cases? No spirit would be more foreign to that involved in the function of a teacher than the use of the rod; for, though there may be a temporary check, yet there is no corrective to the tone already formed. In a vast majority of cases, the apperceptive material already present would respond by deceit, by concealment, or by open defiance, in order to avoid punishment. Besides the direct influence of the teacher, there has been built up through his agency the silent, but potent, influence of the general tone of the school. Social influence is one of the most powerful school factors. The class spirit is in favor of obedience, courtesy, and kindliness, if the children have been so trained; and its reflection from the class is felt as a guiding and restraining influence upon such unregulated lives. With no evident direct means many children become subservient to the purposes of social order which have been already recognized and established. A great deal of so-called disorder is nothing but the expression of activity which needs only to be properly provided for by the home and the teacher, and to be directed into suitable and regulated channels. By this means the children will soon "acquire the intelligence and the disposition appropriate to profitable social coöperation."

But a small number may not be reached by this means. They constitute the remnants which cause anxious thought to teachers, and always will, so long as early training is so one-sided that children do not receive the rational treatment which they deserve. In some classes the

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tone of public opinion is so weak that the example of offenders is likely to turn the scale in favor of disorder; and here may be tried a practical device which has the value of having met the test of experience and of being applicable to small and large city systems alike. If teachers will watch the causes of disorder, and note the cases which occur, they will find that there is much specific evil and anti-socialism that can be anticipated and prevented by instruction. If it be said that the child must be taught to respect and obey law, the answer must be that such a child does not know what law is. Ignorance on the part of a pupil of a better way is often mistaken by the teacher for wilfulness; and wilfulness and evil tendencies are increased by harsh treatment.

The irregularities of the first years of school life, especially in the public schools, can be pretty safely predicted and averted by those who have observed and made careful notes of the tendencies of childhood. The daily acts of the school-room can be regulated and utilized for arousing the hitherto unawakened germs of social and ethical development. A careful study of children in classes will show that there is a regular graded system of tendencies common to child nature at certain ages; and the expression of these tendencies can be controlled by a regular system of graded ethical instruction and social practice which shall give direction to other impulses, develop other standards, and result eventually in another expression. This plan will thus give rise to a local curriculum expanded in the direction of social ethics. To observers it is a well-known biological and sociological fact that a child is either healthily or unhealthily stimulated by the presence of his mates, and that children in groups are excitable and often abnormal as the result of such association. Teachers should be close students of the social whole, as well as of individuals; and in all elementary schools class instruction, not intellectual alone, but motor as well, to meet the special needs of carefully observed and noted tendencies, should be given. For the schools the study of the social child and of the social whole is as important as the study of the individual child, and should supplement all individual child-study.

There are, however, individuals who can be influenced by none of these means; and these are the ones who have been classed as "boys rehearsing for the penitentiary on the streets." The long vacations, in which children are left to unregulated street life, are a fruitful source of criminality. No city can do better than to provide for such waifs the light occupation, the wholesome regulation, and wisely stimulating influence of vacation schools. Before deciding to expel these individuals

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from school they should receive special individual treatment, instruction, and training in general fundamental notions of morality and conduct, and we should try to secure a closer coöperation between home and school. With proper appeal, the poorest home will respond for the child; and where such a home is called to its proper responsibility the community is elevated. Many children can be best reached by the training of the motor powers; and the significance of this fact is not understood by teachers. Even a low grade of mentality, or abnormal immoral tendencies, can be reached through this sifting process; and only when cases cannot be met by this means, should the children be removed. The philanthropy of the age has provided asylums for idiots, and special reforming agencies for those who have not been endowed by nature with the germs of self-control. No harshness, no corporal punishment could train the latter class to social duties or to good citizenship. The influence of the social whole can be so great, however, that even these can sometimes be led into comparatively regulated channels of activity. But that any child must eventually be sent to such an institution, is often due only to lack of knowledge, patience, or skill, on the part of teacher or parent, to call forth responsiveness from the child in the very beginning of his training in infancy or in early school life.

If children are thus carefully trained in elementary classes, social and ethical order is established for the higher classes; if neglected, the rod or expulsion must be resorted to. In both cases incipient criminals ripen rapidly. My own experience tends to confirm the fact that teachers who cannot teach, nor secure a high social and moral standing without corporal punishment, cannot do so with the use of it. The moral force and justice behind the punishment must be appreciated by the child, in order to insure the attainment of its purpose; and over-severity of punishment, such as is meted out in general with corporal punishment, fails to secure the desired result. It is doubtful whether as many criminals are not made by corporal punishment as through its non-use. In general, the slighter the mark of disapproval of conduct, if heeded by the child, the more secure the end attained; and even the rod loses its power where unjustly and frequently used. For our schools, therefore, corporal punishment ought not to be a necessity.

The significance of the first sense-impressions for the child's future cannot be overestimated. The same laws that develop the sense-foundations of knowledge, apply, according to Pestalozzi, to the "sense-means for cultivating virtue." The sense-means do not consist alone in moral precepts, in doctrine, in repetition of a catechism, in words for which

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the child has gained no content, but in the complete sense-impressions gained from the actions of those by whom he is surrounded.

Thus, while a thousand objects, of which the child is at first only dimly conscious in a confused way, come into mental clearness and definiteness, and form the basis of the intellectual work of the future, the child's introduction into the favorable conditions of moral growth is made even more rapidly through the daily unspoken, but effective, influence of the character of those by whom he is surrounded.

We have too long separated in thought the mental and moral training. We have too often left the moral to chance. The great opportunities of this early period have been neglected or overlooked until the child, coming to the opportunities or temptations of a later period with these "gaps in the early sense-cultivation of virtue," has found a temptation which has roused the dormant impulse and which has mastered the entire being. Pestalozzi said:

> "The sense-means of facilitating the virtuous and wise disposition of mind [should be brought] into the blood and veins before the desires for sensual pleasures have so infected blood and veins as to make virtue and wisdom impossible." ("Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder Lehrt."—Zwölfter Brief, § 12.)

This is the earliest task and the highest in training the child so that what is demanded of him in his future life by necessity and duty may be made easy. The child should be so fortified by this early direction that he may come with inherent strength of character into regulated intercourse with the broader range of life.

All generally recognized principles of education apply as well to ethical training as to mental, and should be recognized in any system of instruction. The intellectual and the ethical are not parallel lines in education, but are phases of one and the same process of development.

JULIA E. BULKLEY.

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A STUDY IN NATIVITIES.

THE nativities which form the subject of this article are those of the inmates of the public charitable and penal institutions of New York city for a period of ten years. The study of these was undertaken by the writer for the sole purpose of ascertaining facts; and this paper is a statement of some of the facts found, with but little attempt at explanation or theorizing.

By public institutions I mean such as are supported by public taxes, and are entirely controlled by the municipal government. The period of time covered is from January 1, 1885, to January 1, 1895. The Eleventh Census, taken in 1890, is my source of information concerning the nativities of the inhabitants of the city. The fact, that the Census was taken in the middle of the period under consideration, renders comparison between the nativities of the city's inhabitants and those of the institutions more valuable than it would be if the Census figures were given for a year at the beginning or at the end of the period.

In 1895, according to the Police Census, the city of New York had 1,851,060 inhabitants. The public charitable institutions of this great municipality herein considered are the Almshouse, the six hospitals for adults, and the asylums for the insane. The penal institutions are the Penitentiary and the Workhouse. The number of admissions to the charitable institutions from 1885 to 1895 was 328,000; the number admitted to the penal institutions for the same period was 242,000; representing a total of 570,000. This is the number of admissions, not the number of different persons admitted. It is impossible to determine this latter number with accuracy. If we allow 70,000 for duplications, we still have a half-million. The only question now under consideration concerning these half-million souls is, Where were they born? It is a question of nativity, not of nationality.

Besides the United States, eleven other countries are considered in this paper. If these eleven countries should be arranged according to the percentages of the total number of inmates they supply to all the institutions under consideration,—the highest percentage being placed first, and the lowest last,—Ireland would stand first, and Switzerland last; and

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the order would be Ireland, Germany, England, Italy, Scotland, Canada, Russia, France, Sweden, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland.

In stating the nativities of the inmates of the separate institutions, or groups of institutions, for the sake of avoiding detail, I shall give only those countries that furnish at least 1 per cent. The tabulated summary accompanying this article embraces much detail not given elsewhere. I shall begin with the hospitals, excluding the Children's Hospital.

The admissions to the hospitals during the ten years were 282,928. Of these 36.3 per cent were native-born, and 63.7 foreign-born. The foreign-born were distributed as follows: 35.5 per cent were born in Ireland; 11.4 in Germany; 4.2 in England; 2.8 in Italy; 1.2 in Scotland; and 8.6 per cent in other countries. Those born in Ireland lack less than 1 per cent of being as many as the native-born. They are more than three times as numerous as those of any other foreign country, and are about 4 per cent more than all other foreign-born. During these ten years the percentages for England and Ireland decreased; while those for Russia and Austria-Hungary increased.

At the transfer of the New York city insane asylums to State control on January 28, 1896, the number of inmates was a little less than 7,000. The total admissions from 1885 to 1895 had been 17,491. Of these only 25.7 per cent were born in the United States. The 74.3 per cent born out of the United States were distributed as follows: 35.5 per cent were born in Ireland, 20 per cent in Germany, 3.4 in England, 2 in Italy, 2 in Russia, 1.3 in France, 1 in Sweden, 1.9 in Austria-Hungary, and 7.2 in other countries. Only 1 in 4 of the insane was native-born. One in 3 was born in Ireland. Ireland's percentage in the insane asylums is the same as in the hospitals. One in 5 was born in Germany. The German- and Irish-born supply considerably more than one-half of the total number; while their proportion of the inhabitants of the city is about one-fourth. The nativities of the insane that have noticeably increased are those of Italy, Sweden, Russia, and Austria-Hungary. The last three have doubled. Whether there have been corresponding changes in the inhabitants of New York city it is impossible to say with any certainty, owing to lack of data.

The Almshouse is the distinctively pauper institution. It might with much propriety be named Pauper-town. Its average population is about 2,500. In considering the statistics of this institution it is well to remember that the average moral condition is exceedingly low. The worthy and unfortunate are there; but those who have spent their

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substance and their physical and mental energies in unworthy living are present in greater numbers. The total admissions from 1885 to 1895 were 27,743. Of these only 14.6 per cent were born in the United States. The 85.4 per cent born somewhere out of the United States were distributed as follows: 60.4 per cent were born in Ireland; 14 in Germany; 4.4 in England; 2.2 in Scotland; and 4.4 per cent in other countries. The most striking fact that appears here is that 6 out of every 10 of New York city's paupers were born in Ireland,—more than four times as many as those born in the United States, and nearly two and one-half times as many as were born in all other foreign countries. Germany's percentage in the Almshouse is exactly the same as in the city, namely, 14; England's is twice as large as in the city; while Scotland's is three times as large.

The Penitentiary is the home of the criminals of the city of New York who for different reasons are not sent to the State prisons. Here the native-born predominate. I found 62 per cent native-born. It is only due to the native-born to say that in this 62 per cent are included very many young criminals who were born of foreign-born parents. Some of them may have been born within a week after their parents landed on American soil. If the rule formulated in the last Census for the entire country respecting the parentage of young criminals should be applied to the Penitentiary, and those born in the United States, but of foreign parents, should be deducted from the native-born and added to the foreign-born, the native-born would be found to be about 40 per cent, and the foreign-born about 60. A rule formulated for New York city alone would reduce the native-born still more. These figures are corroborated by much evidence with which the wardens and keepers are perfectly familiar. This evidence is in the form of features, facial expression, complexion, color and character of the hair, language accent, religious tendency, name, physical measurements, etc. The total number of criminals imprisoned here annually is about 3,000. The 38 per cent foreign-born were distributed as follows: 15.4 per cent were born in Ireland; 9 per cent in Germany; 3.3 in England; 2.5 in Italy; 1.1 in Russia; 1.1 in Austria-Hungary; and 5.6 in other countries.

The other penal institution is the Workhouse. For the sake of calling attention to the character of its inmates, let me say that it is the resort for male and female vagabonds,—the dregs of society drawn off through the police courts. The admissions are more than 20,000 every year. For the ten years in question 42 per cent were native-born. Of the 58 per cent foreign-born, 36.7 were born in Ireland; 6.8 in Germany;

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4.4 in England; 1.4 in Italy; 1.4 in Scotland; 1.1 in Russia; and 6.2 per cent in other countries.

It will now be profitable to make some comparisons between the nativities of the inmates of the institutions and the nativities of the inhabitants of New York city, with the view of ascertaining the percentage of the natives of each country in the population of the city and the percentage from the same country in the several institutions. If the percentages of the natives of any one country should be found to be the same among the inhabitants of the city and in the institutions, this would indicate that the natives of that country were inclined to poverty and crime equally with the rest of the city's inhabitants. If the percentages of the natives of each of the several countries should be found to be the same in the city and in the institutions, the natural inference would be that all were equally inclined to poverty and crime. If the natives of any country form a small percentage of the city's inhabitants and a large percentage of the inmates of the Almshouse, the inference would be that the natives of that country living in New York were more prone to pauperism than were the natives of some other country. If, again, the percentage of natives of any country were found to be large in the city, but small in the Penitentiary, the inference would be that the natives of that country living in New York were less prone to crime than were those of some other country. Of course, these cannot be scientifically exact conclusions, because there are so many private institutions in the city that are not taken into our account, and for other reasons. These private institutions, however, are charitable, so that their existence does not vitiate inferences drawn concerning the penal institutions. Let it also be borne in mind that our inferences are concerned with the inhabitants of New York city only, and not with the rest of the inhabitants of the countries in which they were born. We are dealing not with Europe, but with about 800,000 men and women who were born in Europe.

According to the Census of 1890, 57.76 per cent of the inhabitants of New York city were born in the United States, 41.26 per cent were born in Europe, and .98 of 1 per cent in other parts of the world. For convenience, we will say that 58 per cent were native-born, and 42 per cent foreign-born. The foreign-born were distributed as follows: 12.6 per cent were born in Ireland; 14 per cent in Germany; 2.4 in England; 2.6 in Italy; .7 of 1 per cent in Scotland; .5 of 1 per cent in Canada; 3.2 in Russia; .7 in France; .5 in Sweden; 2.6 in Austria-Hungary; .3 in Switzerland; and 1.9 in other countries.

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The 58 per cent native-born in the city supply 36.3 per cent of all hospital inmates, 25.7 of the insane, 14.6 of the Almshouse paupers, 62 of the Penitentiary criminals, and 42 of the Workhouse vagabonds. The 42 per cent foreign-born in the city supply 63.7 of the hospital inmates, 74.3 of the insane, 85.4 of the Almshouse paupers, 38 per cent of the Penitentiary criminals, and 58 per cent of the Workhouse inmates. The average of the percentages of native-born in the several kinds of institutions is 37; while that of the foreign-born is 63. Only in the case of the Penitentiary is the percentage of foreign-born lower than in the city. In the Almshouse it is more than twice as large as that of all foreign-born in the city; and in the insane asylums it is nearly twice as large.

Of the city's inhabitants, 12.6 per cent were born in Ireland. This percentage supplies 35.5 per cent of all inmates of the hospitals and insane asylums, 60.4 of the Almshouse paupers, 36.7 of the Workhouse inmates, but only 15.4 per cent of the Penitentiary convicts. This last, however, is still 3 per cent higher than Ireland's percentage of the city's inhabitants. This is an astonishing record for little Ireland. It is an effect for which there is somewhere an adequate cause.

In the case of Germany it will be noticed that her average percentage in the institutions is smaller than in the city. Of the city's inhabitants 14 per cent were born in Germany. From these German-born citizens 11.4 per cent of the hospital inmates are supplied, 20 of the insane, 14 of the Almshouse paupers, 6.8 of the Workhouse inmates, and 9 of the Penitentiary convicts. That Germany's percentage in the Workhouse is less than one-half of that in the city, is a very favorable feature, when we remember the character of those who are found there; and that her percentage in the insane asylums is 6 higher than in the city, is also a fact worthy of consideration.

England's percentages in all the institutions is considerably higher than in the city. Of the city's inhabitants 2.4 per cent were born in England. These supply 4.2 per cent of hospital inmates, 3.4 of the insane, 4.4 of the Almshouse paupers, 4.4 of the Workhouse inmates, and 3.3 of the Penitentiary convicts. The percentages for the Almshouse and the Workhouse are the same; being nearly twice as large as that in the city.

Italy furnishes 2.6 per cent of the city's inhabitants. From these 2.8 per cent of the hospital inmates are supplied, 2 per cent of the insane, .68 of 1 per cent of the Almshouse paupers, 1.4 of the Workhouse inmates, and 2.5 of the Penitentiary convicts. Italy's lowest is in the

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Almshouse. Only in case of the hospitals does her percentage go above that in the city, and here only .2 of 1 per cent above. Her quota in the Workhouse is also low. The fact that the 2.6 per cent Italian-born inhabitants in the city supply only .68 per cent of the Almshouse paupers is worthy of notice.

Scotland's percentage in the city is .7 of 1 per cent. This fraction supplies 1.2 per cent of hospital inmates, .9 of insane, 2.2 of the Almshouse paupers, 1.4 of the Workhouse inmates, and .9 of 1 per cent of the Penitentiary convicts. Here it is noticed that the percentage in all institutions is higher than that in the city, which is, of course, in no case complimentary. The percentage of Scotland-born in the Workhouse is just twice as large as that in the city, while that for the Almshouse is more than three times as large.

Instead of giving in detail the percentages for the remaining six countries, I shall simply indicate the more noticeable points and refer the reader to the Tabulated Summary at the close of this article. By running the eye along the lines in this table representing Russia and Austria-Hungary, it will be seen that the figures make a very favorable showing for those countries. Their percentages in the city are much larger than in the institutions. Their highest in the institutions is in the insane asylums, the place for unfortunates. But even here the percentages are only about two-thirds as great as in the city. The Almshouse figures for these countries are not given, for the reason that during a portion of the ten years under consideration their numbers were so small that the Superintendent did not consider it worth while to keep them separate from the total; while he did keep separate the number of natives of Scotland, Canada, France, Sweden, and Switzerland, all of which countries have much smaller percentages in the city than Russia and Austria-Hungary. That the percentages of these Jewish citizens are lower in the public institutions than in the city's population, is sometimes accounted for by the fact that the Jews care for their own in private institutions; but, since their private institutions are charitable, not penal, this cannot account for the fact that they supply only about 1 per cent of the inmates of the Penitentiary and the Workhouse, while their quota in the city's inhabitants is about 3 per cent.

France's highest percentage is in the insane asylums, where it is nearly double that in the city. Her lowest is in the hospitals and the Workhouse. Her percentage in all the institutions taken together is exactly the same as in the city, which is true of no other country.

England, Ireland, Scotland, and Canada are all British territory.

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The percentage of each of these, except Canada, is highest in the Almshouse, 67.5 per cent of whose inmates for the ten years under consideration were born British subjects. As has been stated above, the percentage of the English-born inmates in any institution or group of institutions is higher than the percentage of English-born inhabitants in New York city. The same is true of Ireland, Scotland, and Canada. Ireland's percentages in the institutions are about three times as great as in the city; those of England and Scotland about twice as great; and those of Canada about one-half greater. Strange as it may seem, what is here true of British-born subjects is not true of those born in any other one of the thirteen countries under consideration. In the cases of the natives of the United States, Germany, Italy, Russia, France, Sweden, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland, the percentages of inmates in some or in all of the institutions are lower than their percentages in the city. This would seem to indicate that the tendency toward both pauperism and crime of that portion of New York city's inhabitants who were born subjects of the British Crown is greater than it is among those born in the other European countries or in the United States.

Since the Almshouse is the distinctively pauper institution, and the Penitentiary the one distinctively criminal, the tendency of the natives of the several countries to pauperism or to crime is distinctly seen by comparing the fourth and fifth columns of the Tabulated Summary. The tendency in the case of two or three of the nativities is here very marked. It is so with the native-born. They supply 62 per cent of the Penitentiary inmates, but only 14.6 per cent of those in the Almshouse. The percentage of native-born in the Penitentiary is more than four times as great as that in the Almshouse.

The reverse of this is true of the Irish-born. While their quota in the Penitentiary is only 15.4 per cent, it is 60.4 in the Almshouse. The 12.6 per cent of the Irish-born inhabitants in the city supply this 60.4 per cent of the Almshouse inmates. This means that if the tendency of the native-born to pauperism were represented by 1, that of the natives of Ireland in New York city would be represented by 20. Again, if all the inhabitants in the city were Irish-born, they would require eight such almshouses as the one now maintained for the whole city. The inmates born in Ireland are 10 per cent more than twice as many as those born in all the rest of the foreign world. Ireland does not make a great show on the map, but her existence is absolutely necessary in order to maintain in New York an almshouse of the present magnitude.

It will be seen that Diagram No. 1 is a comparison between the native-

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born and the foreign-born in New York city in the different institutions, and between the totals in the institutions. The scale for all the accompanying lines is one-sixteenth of an inch for one per cent.

Each of the five groups in Diagram No. 2 represents an institution or some class of institutions. The first line in each group is the same as the corresponding Native-born line in Diagram No. 1. All the other lines of each group added together will make the Foreign-born line in Diagram No. 1 for the corresponding institution.

Each of the groups in Diagrams Nos. 3 and 4 is concerned with a single country. Each country's group is composed of lines representing the percentage of the city's inhabitants and of the inmates of the several institutions who are natives of that country. This manner of grouping out gives opportunity for comparing the percentage of the city's inhabitants which any one country supplies with the percentage of the inmates of each of the several institutions who are natives of the same country. The last group is a summary of the natives of the rest of the world not included in the individual groups.

Diagram No. 5 represents all foreign-born in all the institutions for ten years, divided between Ireland and the rest of the foreign world.

BYRON C. MATHEWS.

[*The diagrams and Tabulated Summary referred to in this article appear on the following four pages.*]

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A Study in Nativities.—Diagram No. 1.

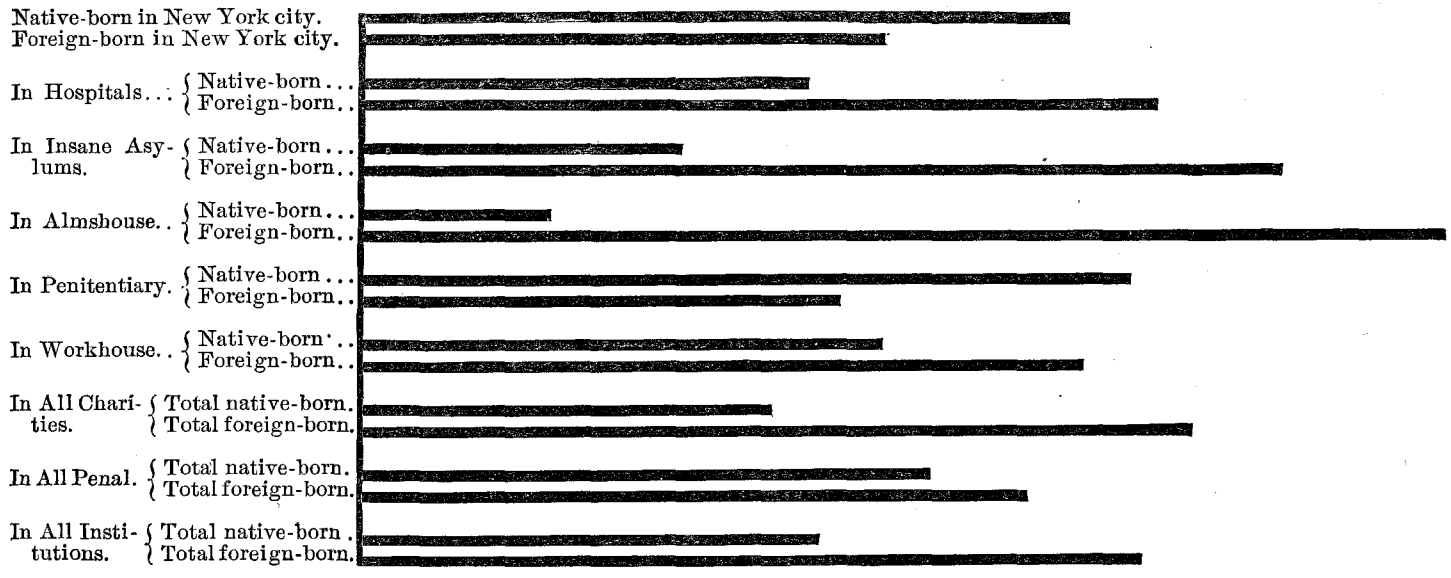
Native-born in New York city.
Foreign-born in New York city.
In Hospitals... Native-born... Foreign-born..
In Insane Asylums. Native-born... Foreign-born..
In Almshouse.. Native-born... Foreign-born..
In Penitentiary. Native-born... Foreign-born..
In Workhouse.. Native-born'.. Foreign-born..
In All Charities. Total native-born. Total foreign-born.
In All Penal. Total native-born. Total foreign-born.
In All Institutions. Total native-born. Total foreign-born.

Diagram No. 2.

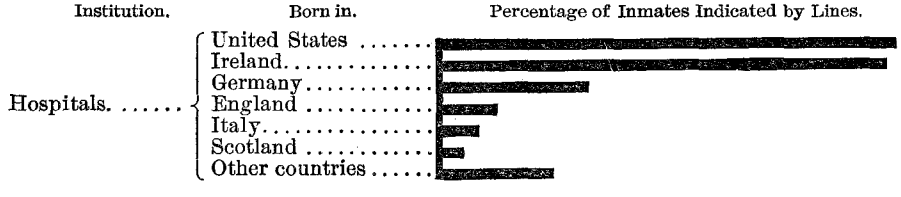

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DIAGRAM No. 2 (*Continued*).

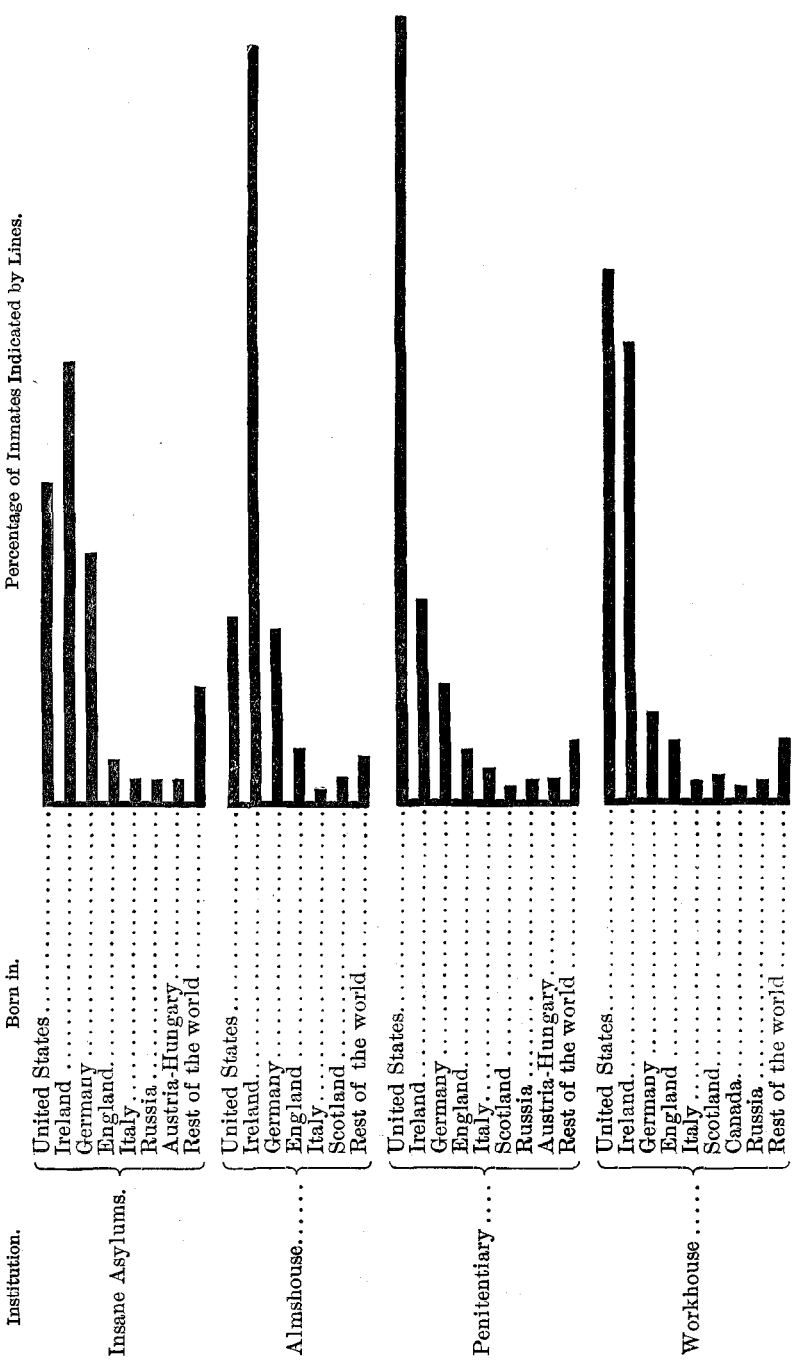

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DIAGRAM No. 3.

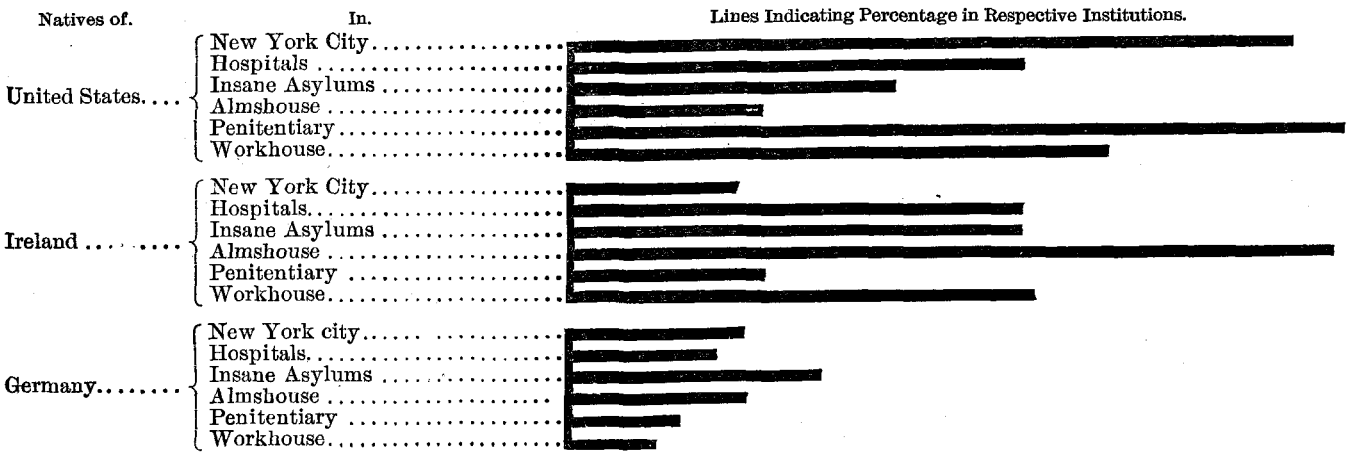
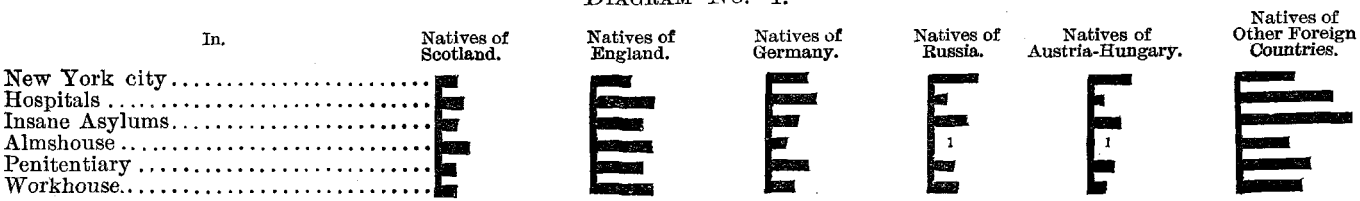


DIAGRAM No. 4.



[1] Data wanting.

DIAGRAM No. 5.

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TABULATED SUMMARY OF PERCENTAGES.

	Inhabitants of New York City.	In Hospitals.	In Insane Asylums.	In Almshouse.	In Penitentiary.	In Workhouse.	Total in Charitable Institutions.	Total in Penal Institutions.	Total in All Institutions.
Natives of United States	57.76	36.3	25.7	14.6	62.0	42.0	33.5	46.0	36.9
Total Foreign-born	42.24	63.7	74.3	85.4	38.0	58.0	66.5	54.0	63.1
Natives of Ireland	12.6	35.5	35.5	60.4	15.4	36.7	37.4	33.43	36.3
" " Germany	14.0	11.4	20.0	14.0	9.0	6.8	12.15	7.17	11.0
" " England	2.4	4.2	3.4	4.4	3.3	4.4	4.15	4.2	4.2
" " Italy	2.6	2.8	2.0	.68	2.5	1.4	2.54	1.55	2.3
" " Scotland	.7	1.2	.95	2.2	.95	1.4	1.28	1.32	1.3
" " Canada	.5	.84	.7	.6	.72	.8	.8	.8	.8
" " Russia	3.2	.7	2.0	.....	1.1	1.1	.7	1.1	.8
" " France	.7	.64	1.3	.78	.85	.64	.72	.67	.7
" " Sweden	.5	.76	1.0	.4	.4	.5	.75	.5	.68
" " Austria-Hungary	2.6	.4	1.9	.....	1.1	.6	.5	.68	.5
" " Switzerland	.3	.53	.59	.8	.38	.29	.56	.3	.5
" " rest of the world	2.14	4.7	4.96	1.14	2.3	3.37	4.95	2.28	4.02

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AMERICAN LITERATURE AND AMERICAN NATIONALITY.

THE earliest literature, or, more accurately, the earliest writing, in this country concerned itself largely with the novel conditions in which the colonists found themselves: it was the work of men who were so absorbed in those conditions that they were content to be reporters of what they saw about them, or of the fortunes which had befallen them in the New World. This was the office of Capt. John Smith in his "True Relation of such Occurrences and Accidents of Note as Hath Happened in Virginia," probably the first book written in America: it was also the office of a group of New England writers with Cotton Mather at their head. A long line of reporters and chroniclers kept up, in desultory fashion, the story of exploration and settlement and of the semi-legendary history of the aboriginal holders of the soil. There was a vein of romance in this story of the audacious assault of small companies of Europeans upon the unexplored fastnesses of the world; and those early narratives, devoid as they are of any touch of the literary spirit, are rich in the material of which literature is made. The vast mass of documents of all kinds, which Mr. Parkman explored with such indomitable courage and such noble patience, contains rich deposits of romance, which are crude ore awaiting the touch that shall transform them into works of art. Epics, dramas, and heroic histories are in solution in those dusty and difficult reports, narratives, and letters.

It has been the fashion, until within a few years, to speak of our beginnings as if they were devoid of the quality of romance. That they are not lacking in strains of heroism was conceded; but they were supposed to be devoid of the quality of imagination which has made the semi-legendary history of early Greece, Germany, France, and Italy rich in contributions to the poetry and romance of the literatures of those countries. Since we have come to understand our own history more clearly and to comprehend its significance, both as an extension and expansion of the spiritual history of Europe and as a new chapter in the unfolding of the human drama, our eyes have been unsealed, and we have become aware of the wealth of material at our disposal for the making of literature. This material has hardly been touched as yet

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by the poets and novelists. One may easily recall the really successful attempts to use it for the purposes of the imagination; but it is safe to predict that the poets and romancers of a later period will be quick to feel the rich charm of this semi-legendary history and to turn it to artistic uses. Among recent handlings of these rich themes, Miss Grace King's "De Soto and His Men in the Land of Florida" is noteworthy for its blending of historic accuracy and free, stirring, brilliant narrative style.

The early story of vigorous peoples is rarely free from brutality and unscrupulous aggrandizement. It is redeemed, however, by heroic endeavor, by undaunted courage, and by high ends often dimly discerned, but never permanently obscured. It may be safely affirmed that no country has had a more striking or romantic origin than our own, and that none has a richer accumulation of the material which stirs the imagination and gives it the stuff of which to fashion its work.

It is not fanciful to infer, perhaps, from the vast and varied putting forth of human energy under immense difficulties, and from the great importance which our form of government attaches to personality, that the human interest must always be uppermost in our literature; and that in the exact degree in which our art searches and discloses the depths of our life will our books be great and authoritative. Our literature for two decades has not made a very deep impression on the imagination of the country and has not deeply affected its character because, for the most part, it has lacked depth of feeling and profound seriousness. It has seemed to shrink from deep conviction, from strong feeling, from great emotion. It has been admirable in form, sound in tone, and often charming in style; but, for the most part, it has lacked elemental power. The great passions have not been portrayed by it; nor have the shaping forces which are always at work in the deepest consciousness of a people come to the light in it. A good deal of this literature has seemed to share the conventional dread of any real show of feeling, the conventional shrinking from outbreaks of the great emotions. It has observed the proprieties to a degree which has made it a well-bred and agreeable comment upon men and manners, without a suggestion of the tremendous forces which are never absent from human life, or a glance into those depths into which men of creative genius are compelled to look by the very possession of vision and insight. The well-bred man of the world is a very agreeable companion; but his world is not the world in which great spirits live or great work is done.

Between the magnitude and seriousness of American life and the

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lightness, grace, and touch-and-go quality of a good deal of American writing, there is a great gulf fixed. The distance in depth and power between that life and many of the most charming books written here would be humorous if it were not pathetic. It would seem as if we shrank from any real knowledge of ourselves, and dreaded any hand-to-hand contact with the tremendous actualities of living. Our literature has largely lost the note of discovery, the audacity of spiritual adventure, the courage of great faiths and passions: it is in danger of becoming a resource of polite society, instead of an expression of vital experience and a dominant force in national life. It has struck some deep notes with great clearness and resonant power: but it must continue to strike such notes; and it must put behind the clarity of its vision the vitality and sheer human force of rich and deep experience. The idealism of the American character, which many foreign observers fail to recognize because it has so far taken practical rather than artistic forms of expression, is a prime element in the making of the books that stir the depths; but there must be substance and power as well. What Emerson recognized as "thinness of constitution" is still too much in evidence in American writing. The literature which pleases and refines is wholesome and welcome; but it cannot take the place of the literature which reveals and stimulates. This does not mean, of course, that literature shall become didactic: it does mean that it shall find the springs which feed it neither in culture nor in taste, but in the depths of experience and the hidden sources of motivity. A great deal of the literature of the last two decades would have been admirable as a subsidiary literature: it has been inadequate as a representative literature. It has had grace and refinement and charm: it has lacked depth, force, mass, passion.

We need this lighter literature, but we need still more the substance and power of the literature which is charged with national or racial emotion, and which becomes, by virtue of its representative quality, a veritable revelation of what is in our life. The American people have not yet come to full national self-consciousness. They have come to sectional self-consciousness; and, in New England for example, that clear realization of ideals and formative tendencies found expression in a literature the beauty and the limitation of which are significant of New England character. But the nation as a nation has not yet reached a clear understanding of itself: it does not know what is in its heart, although it responds with passionate intensity to every appeal to its instincts and ideals. It has found powerful expression of these

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instincts and ideals on the side of action: it has found only partial and very inadequate expression on the side of art. The time is fast approaching, however, when the man of letters will find his prime opportunity in the ripeness of this vast population for expression; and literature must find a voice for this great dumb life or utterly and disastrously fail to discharge its function and do its work.

One of the chief uses of literature is to give the inner life clear and commanding expression; for it is only in and through some form of expression that the quality and significance of the inner life are comprehended. Inarticulate life may have reality and depth: it cannot have expansiveness and contagious power. It is essential, therefore, that a nation should understand itself through the disclosure of its instincts and ideals, in order that its spiritual life may dominate and form its material life. It may, for a time, make its way by instinct and feeling; but it cannot develop its full power, nor do its work with adequate force, until it has supplemented instinct and feeling with intelligence.

The American people stand in great need of this adequate expression of their life. They are spread over an immense territory. The industrial and social centres are separated from one another by great distances. The body of the nation is so vast that its safety depends upon a highly organized spiritual life. More than once it has faced the peril of sectional misunderstandings and antagonisms which have been made possible by the extent of ground which it covers. In no compact country would the dense ignorance of one another's character and resources, which prevailed in the North and South before the Civil War, have been possible. In no compact country would the failure to understand one another, shown of late years in the East and West, have been possible. In a small country like England the flow of thought and feeling from the capital to the remotest sections is so rapid and continuous that the most widely separated districts are never far apart in feeling and sentiment. They may develop wide differences of opinion; they cannot remain in ignorance of the movement of general opinion; they cannot drift out of the main currents of national feeling. In this country, for a long time to come, there will be serious danger of cleavage between sections which, by reason of the distances which separate them, will be likely to drift apart. Boston and New Orleans are almost as far apart as London and St. Petersburg: New York and San Francisco are separated from one another more widely than Paris and Damascus. The distance from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon, is

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considerably greater than that from Greece to Norway. The magnitude of the continent is continually put to the front as one of the great advantages which the Republic enjoys in its competition with the world, or, to use the language of the future, in its coöperation with the world. Other things being equal, terms of territorial superiority are also terms of moral superiority; but the vastness of the national estate, like every great opportunity, involves grave perils.

That these perils are not imaginary the history of the last half of this century has tragically shown. That they still exist those who know the country are firmly persuaded. As a rule, cultivated Americans know Europe more thoroughly and more sympathetically than they know their own country. They cannot know Europe too well for their own education; but they owe it to themselves to know their own country first. The knowledge of Europe by an American is, in a sense, a privilege and a luxury: knowledge of his own country is a necessity. The ignorance of many intelligent people concerning sections of this country which lie outside that in which they live is amazing, and would be inexplicable but for the remoteness of many of these districts. Intelligent people of the North are just beginning to understand the practical difficulties which confront the Southern people in dealing with the race problem: they have been talking about it for years in the most dogmatic spirit, without any real comprehension of the perplexities it presents. On the other hand, one of the worst effects of trying to justify a system which the rest of the civilized world had outgrown and abhorred was the intellectual isolation of the old South. It had drifted out of the main current of modern life and, if it had succeeded in establishing a government of its own, would have become, by the very logic of its own attitude, another Korea, a hermit nation. If the North had understood the Southern feeling at the start, the anti-slavery agitation would have been national instead of sectional: if the South had comprehended the motives and resources of the North, there would have been no Civil War. The sources of that tragedy were in historic conditions; but clear comprehension between the two sections would have secured another method of solution.

It is not many months since the newspapers in many parts of the West were filled with denunciations of the greed and rapacity of the East, its subserviency to the money power of Europe, its determination to crush the farmers and working people; and political orators made the air heavy with furious invective and the sky black with prophecies of approaching disaster. In the East newspapers were calmly

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characterizing great masses of Western voters as defaulting debtors, eager to debase the currency in order that they might safely offer their creditors fifty cents in place of a dollar. It is needless to say that there was, as a matter of fact, neither concerted rapacity in the East nor organized dishonesty in the West: there were wide differences of view honestly held by people so widely separated that they did not understand one another's motives and spirit. This extreme form of localism is one of the greatest dangers which this country has to face. The East is likely to misunderstand the West; there are sections of the West which are in peril, by reason of their remoteness from either seaboard, of becoming isolated and detached from the broad currents of national life; the Far West faces the remotest East and has a destiny of its own to work out along new lines of racial interaction and commercial interchange; and the South has traditions which it rightly cherishes, but which are not national traditions.

Under these conditions, which are largely permanent and must be reckoned with in the history of the future, the country sorely needs great unifying forces; its spiritual unity must be made clear in its consciousness; and the solidarity of its work and influence in the world must be continually emphasized. Two things, M. Brunetière declared, stand in the way of the higher civilization in the United States; viz., the great distances between the centres of social and industrial activity, and the spirit of commercialism. And this shrewd generalization of one of the most intelligent foreign observers who have visited the country of late years finds confirmation in the judgment of the best informed Americans. The higher interests of the nation are imperilled by the lack of a coördination of intellectual standards and aims, and by the tendency to let the development of the soul of the country wait on the development of its land, its mineral resources, and its trade. The magnitude of its material resources makes an intense and a highly organized spiritual life a sovereign necessity in America. It is an open question whether we shall be makers of things or creators of ideas and ideals. If we are to be materialists in the final character of our civilization, we shall fill a great place in the activities of the modern world; but we shall do nothing for its spiritual fortunes: we shall fill pages of statistics in the encyclopædias; but we shall have small space in the history of art, culture, religion. The ingrained idealism of the American nature will probably preserve us from the dismal fate of being rich without being significant or interesting; but that idealism needs constant classification and reinforcement. It needs clear and commanding expression.

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And that expression it must find mainly in its literature; for literature, in its greater forms, is both a revelation of national character and a force to form national character. Its influence, though not computable by any external records, is diffused through the atmosphere which a people breathes. It has recently been said, and not without a degree of truth, that the modern movement for expansion, which has made England active and potential at the ends of the earth, did not originate in the mind of a statesman, and was not the result of the scheming of a shrewd politician like Beaconsfield, but received its most powerful impulse from three writers: Carlyle, Tennyson, and Kipling. These men of letters, like many of their predecessors, have not urged definite policies upon their countrymen; but they have given the English spirit and temper the impulse of sharp definition, and of deep and passionate faith. Indeed, the service of English literature as a practical force in English life cannot be overstated. It has done more than any other single force to give the English race clear consciousness of its strength, its aims, and its work: it has bound the race together in the consciousness of a rich and enduring community of history and fortune. Shakespeare has done more for England in forming this consciousness than Pitt or Peel or Gladstone.

If this service was needed in a country of such narrow territory, with a population so compact, as England, it is sorely needed in this country, with its immense distances and its widely separated communities. And when one adds to these natural conditions the complexity of races now learning to live together in the Republic, the necessity of a literature that shall develop first a national consciousness, and then clarify national spiritual ideals and make them authoritative, becomes even painfully apparent. A literature adequate in its power and vision to the range of life on this continent is a prime necessity for our safety. We need a literature which shall speak to and for the consciousness of the nation as the New England literature spoke to and for the consciousness of New England. The note of nationality was struck with resonant clearness by Emerson, Lowell, and Whittier; but the force and depth of conscious national life were not behind these earlier poets as they will be behind their successors. The time was not ripe; but it is fast ripening.

This more inclusive literature will not be written by intention: it must come spontaneously and by the pressure of a wider and richer experience. The way has been prepared by every true man of letters from Irving to Howells. It is being prepared to-day by the wide-

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spread activity in the field of history; for the later historians, by making us aware of the stirring and romantic history behind us, are developing a consciousness of our racial resources and of the experience which has made us a nation. It is being prepared by the writers of fiction, whose work in many instances has depth and reality, and is a true revelation of American character. Such a story as Mr. Thomas Nelson Page's "Red Rock" is a contribution of lasting value to our knowledge of our own past; a veritable human document, because it deals in a serious spirit with a significant and tragic experience; a genuine interpretation of the spirit, the vicissitudes, and the historical attitude of a great section in one of the shaping crises of its history. A book of this seriousness of temper and artistic insight is to be welcomed, not only for what it brings us of enlightenment and pleasure, but still more for what it predicts in the way of large, conscientious, patient endeavor to make Americans conscious of the shaping forces of their history, and of the deeper ties and fortunes which unite them. In this spiritual history of the New World the novelists have already discovered material of such depth and richness that a generation of great writers could not exhaust it. One of the highest uses of that material in the forms of art will be the clear development of national self-consciousness.

HAMILTON W. MABIE.

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